

Fostering Biculturalism: exploring principal hautūtanga/*leadership* in a South Island
secondary school in AotearoaNew Zealand

An Autoethnography

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

In the University of Canterbury

By

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University of Canterbury

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DECLARATION

I, Peggy Margaret Ann Burrows, declare that:

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ABSTRACT

Fostering Biculturalism: exploring principal *hautūtanga/leadership* in a South Island secondary school in AotearoaNew Zealand

AotearoaNew Zealand has been home to the indigenous Māori population for approximately one thousand years. As a consequence of British colonisation during the 19th century and the devastating assimilationist policies implemented during the first half of the 20th century, Māori suffered the loss of their native language, confiscation of their tribal lands, and the complete undermining of their *ahurea tuakiri*/cultural identity as Māori. This study sets out to explore the role educational *hautūtanga/leadership* could play in addressing the resulting inequalities and disparities that arose from that subjugation of Māori by a dominant colonising force. More specifically the thesis explored principal *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies that first and foremost considered *te ao Māori/a Māori world view* and *Kaupapa Māori/Māori principles and ideologies*, when developing strategies for working with contemporary Māori students within one mainstream secondary school in AotearoaNew Zealand. The transformative intent of this study was to provide a vicarious experience of a process of change *hautūtanga/leadership* that begins with the self. The study captured the importance of the cultivation of a greater critical consciousness (Gay & Kirkland, 2003), and the adoption of bicultural approaches (Macfarlane, A. H., 1997) and bilingual understandings to effect pedagogical change. The study employed the flexibility of bricolage (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004) as an innovative for this qualitative, practice-based, self-study. Using an autoethnographic approach, guided by a grounded theoretical framework and informed by *kaupapa Māori/Māori principles* research principles, the study interrogated the researcher's established understandings of *hautūtanga/leadership* and offered new insights into *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies more aligned with *kaupapa Māori/Māori principles* of bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* practices that

result in the provision of a culturally safe learning environment for Māori students. By collecting the anecdotes of participants in the study and using thematic narrative synthesis the researcher was able to discern recurrent themes. The study employed a coherent methodological hybrid, identifying the researcher as the subject, directly connected to her research setting and the participants located there. This approach provided a greater emphasis on the knowledge and learning derived from self-study (Loughran, & Northfield, 1998) and collaborative ways of working which resonate with Māori. The study captured the authentic voices of Māori participants and used those voices to challenge the researcher's Westerncentric understandings of educational *hautūtanga/leadership*. The research challenged many of the researcher's deep cultural assumptions and deficit thinking models imbued in her established Westerncentric *hautūtanga/leadership* practices. The researcher acknowledges that tensions exist around assertions that nonindigenous researchers cannot undertake kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* research and evaluation, in that such research is the domain of Māori, with Māori and for Māori. The researcher acknowledged her status as a nonindigenous researcher, mindful that her research approach may cause conceptual disparities in understandings. This study identified gaps in current *hautūtanga/leadership* practices in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system and discussed the growing conscientisation of professionals around the importance of Pākehā engagement with te ao Māori/*the Māori world* on Māori terms if meaningful change is to occur. The study explores whether adopting bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies is regarded as a step too far for principals in their already busy professional lives. It is argued that to avoid taking that step speaks to the true meaning of colonisation and subjugation of Māori in an AotearoaNew Zealand educational setting.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this mahi to my sister Julia and my husband Donald, both of whom walked every step of this long journey with me. Julia to challenge, Don to sustain and both to love and support.

Kia Kaha, Kia Toa, Kia Manawanui

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CHAPTER 1 ADDRESSING DISPARITIES IN MĀORI EDUCATION

Principal Hautūtanga/leadership in Aotearoa New Zealand

SECTION 1 Composite Memoir

I am Complicit in My Silence

September 2009
(Reflective Journal, Vol 4:120828)

I arrived a little late for my coffee catch up with Denise and thought, not for the first time, that being perpetually late was something I really needed to address. Denise was already sitting at a booth table and seemed engrossed doing something with her iPhone.

“Hi there,” I said as I dropped down onto the seat opposite her. “Sorry I’m late. How goes it with you?”

Denise looked up from her phone and smiled that warm smile she shares with everybody.

“I’m great – what about you?” she replied, casually placing her cell phone on the table top. Looking across the crowded cafe at the long line of customers waiting to order coffee at the counter she said, “It must be my shout. Won’t be a mo.”

I nodded gratefully as she walked to the busy counter and relaxed into the soft faux leather of the seat. It had already been a long day and it was only 2.30pm. I gazed around the noisy room and noticed a small group of our Pākehā parents enjoying a coffee and a catch up. I was just thinking to myself what a welcome relief it was to just sit quietly here and gather my thoughts, when I saw through the large plate glass window Māori boys walking along the footpath opposite the café. I sighed inwardly. I had made a pact with myself that I would never ignore students truant from school. Leaving my bag at the table I moved to the café’s front door aware of the scrutiny of some of the café clientele. I walked along the front of the building to intercept these two young men. However, when I reached the curb, they were nowhere to be seen.

There was a sharp tap on the jewellery shop window behind me and when I turned around the manager was pointing animatedly at the delivery van parked next to the pedestrian crossing. I smiled and nodded.

Walking over to the van I peered around the front mudguard ... nothing. Feeling a little foolish I looked back towards the jewellery shop. The manager was now gesturing to a white Toyota Hilux parked in front of the van. I bent down and looked

under the Toyota and sure enough two pairs of nonregulation Nikes were clearly visible. Keenly aware that the three of us had quite an audience by this time, I cleared my throat and said, “Kia ora boys, would you please stop making me look like a nerd and come out from behind this car?”

The first pair of shoes started to move slowly forward, the second remained rooted to the spot.

“Come on bro,” said a sheepish voice, “She can see us, auē!”

The second pair of shoes reluctantly followed.

“Kia ora boys,” I repeated, as they slowly emerged from behind the Toyota’s boot and stepped back onto the footpath. “Tēpene James ... Rau Tao, were you trying to hide from me?” I asked, trying to keep from smiling.

With a shrug, Rau sighed, “Busted aye Miss!”

I smiled, “So what brings two handsome and intelligent young men to the High Street during school time?” I asked.

Obviously paralysed with, perhaps not fear, but certainly embarrassment they studied their dubitable footwear intently.

Finally, Tēpene looked at me and said, “Are you mad at us Miss?”

“Well,” I replied, “I am more embarrassed than mad. After all, I have failed, and I have failed in front of all these people.”

“What’s that Miss? said Tēpene in surprise.

“Well,” I respond seriously, “My job is to keep you safe at school and you’re not safe right now, because you are not where you are supposed to be. Anything could happen to you and it would be my fault.”

“Na Miss.” Rau chimed in, “This is not on you. We came to get a feed.”

“Oh ... I see.” I frowned as I replied, “I could have sworn that was why we had a canteen at school.”

“Nah Miss ... Jus’ hungry for chips and there’s none at the canteen,” replied Rau, shifting his feet uncomfortably. “It’s not your fault we bunked Miss!”

“So, you don’t have passes to be out of school then?” I said, raising an inquiring eyebrow.

The boys looked at each other. “Nah, sorry Miss,” They replied in unison. “But that’s not on you either Miss,” Tēpene added emphatically.

“Well,” I respond, “I need you to go straight back to school, find your Dean to explain why you are so late to period five and then get straight to class.”

"We got all this was and no Hot Chips!" Rau exclaimed looking particularly crest fallen.

Off with you." I reply.

"OK Miss, sorry Miss," they chorused as they turned to leave.

As the boys crossed the pedestrian crossing, I heard Tēpene whisper to Rau, "No HOT Chips bro. Hard as man ... hard as."

I turn back to the café and in the reflection of the window I see them sauntering along the High Street.

"Pick up the pace gentleman," I call out after them. I smile as they break into a slow jog their bravado evaporating.

I made over to Denise who was sitting patiently with two lattes and a piece of Velvet cake each.

"Thanks," I said as I slid into my seat.

"Two of yours I see." She smiled.

"Yup, Year 10, I replied. Anyway, enough of that, what have you been up to?"

Denise was about to answer when middle aged Pākehā man appeared at our table. I smiled,

"Can I help you?" I asked, looking at him inquiringly.

"On Māori time, were they?" He demanded, indicating the direction of the boys with a nod of his head. "We were just saying how good it is to see a bit of discipline!"

Staring at me, like some sort of accomplice. He frowned when I didn't immediately agree with him.

"I am sure we were all truant at least once in our school lives," I said rather coldly.

"No, no!" He gesticulated emphatically and continued with hardly a pause,

"They've just got no respect. No wonder they are all failing at school!"

He looked directly at me, expecting my affirmation. I kept my face still, trying not to look as uncomfortable as I felt.

"Well," he continued, oblivious to my discomfort, "I guess that's what you get when the parents couldn't care less!"

I could feel my stomach knotting.

"Well," He said, with exaggerated benevolence, "We just wanted you to know."

He gestured to the group of Pākehā parents watching us from their table across the room. "That you have our full support. It's about time those "Māoris" knew who the boss is."

He looked at me with the confidence of a co-conspirator, “They just muck around at school and get given everything!”

When I did not respond he filled the pregnant pause, saying, “They just don’t care about education.” He looked intently at me and I found myself suffocating with embarrassment. At that moment, my cell phone rang, breaking what was becoming and intensely awkward silence.

“Excuse me,” I said as I foraged for my cell phone in my hand bag. Retrieving it I pressed it to my ear and said, “Hello.” There was no response.

“Would you excuse me please?” I said with a frown, “I have to take this.”

“Sure thing,” our self-appointed arbitrator of truth replied importantly. “Anyway, as I said, it was good to see you again. Just remember, we think you’re doing a great job!”

I smiled weakly as he turned and made his way back to his table, with all the bluster and self-importance of a man who had just put the world to rights!

“Are you there?” I repeat into my cell phone.

Denise cleared her throat knowingly. “It’s me my friend!” she murmured, “I thought you needed an escape route.” Indicating her phone, sitting next to her coffee cup on the table, she smiled wickedly at me.

I smiled gratefully at her, all the time feeling like a real coward as I looked across the room and pretended to talk on my phone. I felt more like a collaborator than an educational leader.

SECTION 2 Introduction

In 2010, I applied to the University of Canterbury to undertake a PhD research project to investigate why disparities existed in the achievement levels of Māori students and their Pākehā peers at the school I led. As the Pākehā principal of Papatūānuku High School (the name is a pseudonym to protect the identities of some participants), a large co-educational state secondary school located in the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, I wanted to explore educational terrain of our school and community in an attempt to understand why these disparities occurred. I framed my study as an autoethnography, because I wanted to explore my own learning as I grappled with assumptions, ideas, and theories that existed outside my personal sphere of experience about why Māori students consistently failed in the school system. Over a two-year period, from 2010 to 2012, I collected anecdotes shared with me by Māori students, parents, and board members about their experiences of school life. I recorded the anecdotes as vignettes and then coded and grouped them according to recurring themes I identified. The five most

significant recurring themes evident in the anecdotes were: *ahurea tuakiri/cultural identity*, *mōriroriro/cultural alienation*, *mōriroriro/cultural ātetenga/resistance*, *mātauranga Māori/Māori world view*, and *tino rangatiratanga/Māori self-determination*. From each of the five categories I selected one participant's anecdote to craft into a representative nonfiction narrative (Kidd, Sánchez, & Thorp, 2005). Each of the five nonfiction narratives I include here explores one of the five themes and each is but one of the collective voices of all those who shared their experiences with me. My research is an exploration of my professional growth as a leader and my search for *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies demonstrated as enhancing the educational outcomes of Māori students (Bishop & Berryman, 2009; Lambert, L., 2002).

SECTION 3 Background of the Study

Māori settled in AotearoaNew Zealand approximately 700 years ago. In 1876 Māori and the British crown signed *te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi*, the founding document of the country, which guaranteed the preservation of Māori rights, land, language and traditions and bestowed sovereign rights and privileges as members of the Commonwealth. *Te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi* is therefore central to AotearoaNew Zealand's bicultural identity. Papatūānuku High School is a unique state secondary school because it was established five years after the signing of *te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi*, under its own Act of Parliament in 1881. The school opened on Monday 28th January 1884 with a roll of nineteen students and four staff, none of whom were Māori (Gunby, 1984). When I began this research in 2010, Papatūānuku High School was a decile 8ⁱ state funded secondary school. I was the 10th principal of the school, the first woman to hold the position, and in my eighth year of principalship.

For over one hundred years in AotearoaNew Zealand significant socioeconomic gaps have and still do, exist between Māori and European/Pākehā. These disparities exist not only in education, but also in health, income, and labour market status (Chapple, 2000). Although I understood this in relation to the general population it was an unexpected revelation that these same disparities in educational achievement existed between Māori and Pākehā students who attend Papatūānuku High School.

Focus of the Study

In June 2009 I attended a Regional Principals' meeting in Canterbury, New Zealand, where my colleagues and I reviewed the latest national achievement statistics published for the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA).ⁱⁱ We shared concerns that the data

highlighted disparities nationally between the achievement levels of Māori students in relation to their Pākehā peers. The Education Review Office (ERO, 2010), raised similar concerns observing that:

Although many Māori students have been successful in education, research and national and international testing data continue to show significant disparity in the achievement of Māori and non-Māori students (p. 1).

I remember my naive confidence at that meeting that our data would not show these same disparities given our decile rating, our significant resourcing, and the programmes to support students we offered through our House system and curriculum design. Papatūānuku High School was recognised as a high performing school and so I was confident our NCEA results would not mirror the national data.

I immediately sought a review of our students' achievement data at Levels 1 - 3 of the NCEA and asked that Māori and Pākehā achievement data be reported separately. In hindsight it seems odd that there was no established schoolwide system to report on Māori student achievement, instead such reporting had occurred within faculty silos and was not shared between faculties. I was extremely disappointed when I had to report to the board of trusteesⁱⁱⁱ that the schoolwide results for our Māori students were not comparable to those of their Pākehā peers. Even though our student achievement levels for the NCEA were above national norms, the review had highlighted two significant anomalies. The first was pleasing because the data clearly showed that Māori students at Papatūānuku High School out performed Māori students in schools of similar types and decile. However, the second was an anathema showing Papatūānuku High School perpetuated the same disparities that existed nationally between Māori and Pākehā students.

Purpose of the Study

My initial motivation in undertaking this study was to explore my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice in relation to my efficacy as the educational leader at Papatūānuku High School and my desire to address the issue of the disparities described above. When designing my research methodology, I was interested in exploring the multiple roles I would play during the research

process (Posner, 1997; Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, S. N., 2002; Sieber, 1974). I had initiated the study as the principal of Papatūānuku High School and my principal's perspective was key in drawing out grounded theory (Dick, 2000; Strauss & Corbin, 1997) about the adoption of bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies as a strategy to enhance Māori student achievement. However, my methodology recognised my multiple selves (Bochner, 1997) and took into account that I was more than just a principal. Foody, Y Barnes-Holmes, & D Barnes-Holmes (2011), Srivastava (2006) and Voloder (2008) were helpful here in assisting me to define what I meant by the multiple self. It was the accommodation of that multiplicity of self (See Figure 1); me the principal, me the researcher, and me the individual that provided me as the researcher with a unique opportunity to blend my three separate but inseparable perspectives when considering the implications of the data I collected.

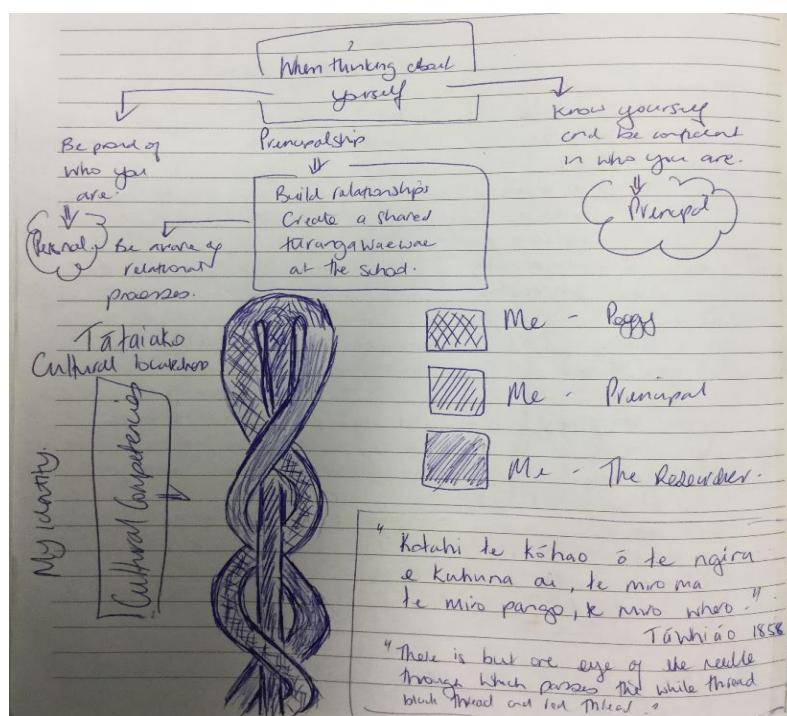


Figure 1. *Three Essential Selves. (Reflective Journal, Vol 5: 140430)*

Figure 1, an illustration taken from my reflective journal in 2014 encapsulates my thinking around my three essential selves and the importance of that triumvirate to my autoethnographic study. The central thread in the image represents the principal of Papatūānuku High School and the subject of this study. The left-hand thread is my essential self, a self deeply rooted in Pākehā culture, history, and family and forged from life's experiences of love, loss, and personal pain. The thread to the right represents me, the researcher, shaped by academic inquiry and the requirements of academic rigour (Anderson, G. L., & Herr, 1999). My three selves are inextricably linked and by recognising that all three contributed to my new learning

I used them to draw out my emotional, intellectual, and theoretical responses as I worked with the study's participants.

Another sense of purpose central to undertaking this research journey was my desire for a deeper understanding of my Westerncentric *hautūtanga/leadership* self (Begley, 2000), my Pākehā culture in relation to Māori culture (Bishop & Glynn, 2003), and what I came to see as my inherent assumptions as an educator about Māori student achievement (Sleeter, 2012). Given my Westerncentric understandings of *hautūtanga/leadership* theory and practice (Begley, 2000), employing an autoethnographic methodology played a critical role in assisting me to explore questions around why disparities in achievement exist for Māori students and how schools could or should address and reduce those disparities. This study's contribution to new knowledge may be seen in its attempt to highlight, from the personal perspective of a practice-based researcher, improved *hautūtanga/leadership* strategies, informed by Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* (Gardiner & Parata, 2007) that resonate with Māori, Māori students and their *whānau/families* and contribute to equity in educational achievement.

Significance of the Study

There are three aspects of this study that make it significant for education practitioners in AotearoaNew Zealand and beyond. The first is the idea that schools are not arbitrarily formed institutions of learning, they are instead sites of struggle that perpetuate cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1992; Crehan, 2002) and exist in juxtaposition to the heterotopic spaces (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986; Johnson, 2006) of culture and *whānau* inhabited by Māori. The second is the argument that, while AotearoaNew Zealand is a culturally diverse society, it is dominated by a Pākehā world view: the beliefs, explanations, perceptions, values, and mores that is this country's recognised cultural norm and as such has a detrimental impact on the lives and life choices of Māori. The third is the challenge this work poses to professionals unaware of AotearoaNew Zealand's languishing commitment to biculturalism (Bidois, 2013) and the effect such incognisance has had on Māori student achievement. The study seeks to provide a tool to raise the collective consciousness of members of diverse communities to the importance of epistemological pluralism (Cooper, 2012) if true equity in education is to be achieved for Māori and other indigenous peoples. This study seeks to contest the entrenched rhetoric of Māori failure (Pack, Tuffin, & Lyons, 2016; Ritchie & Skerrett, 2014) that blames (Thrupp, 2008) the lack of success Māori enjoy in education on Māori and reinforces Māori underachievement as a *fait-accompli*.

The continual reference to Māori failure in the literature I encountered prompted me to consider whose definitions of failure underpinned that construct. McCreanor (1993) influenced my thinking during the early stages of this research with his clearly articulated rejection of the view that “Māori failure was due to their inability to cope in the modern world because of inherent flaws in their character or culture ... [and that any] ... Māori dissent is cast as the work of a minority of troublemakers who seek to arouse a wider Māori discontent to further their own political ends” (p. 95). I began to interrogate the deficit ideologies (Foley, 1997; Foucault, 1984; Freire, 1998a; 2000), that framed the discourse around Māori failure, and contributed to definitions of AotearoaNew Zealand’s tangata whenua/*indigenous population* as Other. Fabian (2014) warns researchers that:

It is by diagnosing anthropology’s temporal discourse that one discovers the obvious, namely that there is no knowledge of the Other which is not also a temporal, historical, a political act (p. 1).

At the heart of this research project was my desire to explore how my professional *hautūtanga/leadership* practices had ensured I was complicit in this political act and what changes I could make to ameliorate Māori success. It was the exploration of my own learning as a political act (Gitlin, 2014) and how as Coughlin and Baird (2010) describe, that “takes place and the philosophy and practice that supports that understanding” (p. 1), that I wanted to document. By interrogating the anecdotes and narratives I collected as data, I identified some of the significant professional pedagogies Māori students described as inhibitors to their engagement at Papatūānuku High School.

While Papatūānuku High School had a sound academic reputation and the confidence of its local community I felt uncomfortable about the disparities that existed between Māori and Pākehā student achievement. These disparities highlighted for me that success is not success if it is only enjoyed by the dominant culture. I knew that nothing would improve for Māori students until, as a professional body, principals accepted that it is they who must be proactive and lead change in their schools (Robinson, Lloyd, & Rowe, 2008). The difficulty for many Pākehā educational leaders however is that we were not trained to lead biculturally. I still felt culpable that nothing significant had changed for Māori students during the four decades I had been involved in education, irrespective of good intentions, policy development, and government implementation of numerous targeted programmes (Henderson, 2013). My personal sense of failure was also fuelled by the fact that the only real challenge to these ongoing

disparities had come, not from my cohort of educational leaders, but from the burgeoning Māori Renaissance movement of the 1980s (Carkeek, Davies, & Irwin, 1994), and the growing number of respected Māori academics (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, C., 2003; Katene, 2010; Kukutai, 2010; Macfarlane, A. H., Glynn, Cavanagh, & Bateman 2007; Pihama, 2001; Smith, G. H., 2012), all of whom had, and were producing a wealth of quality research information to address these anomalies.

If there is to be a lasting significance of this study it may well be seen in its proactive, bicultural, collaborative approach to introducing pedagogical practices that are identified by Māori as culturally safe. By exploring the value to adopting professional practices and pedagogies underpinned by kaupapa Māori/ *Māori principles*, and discussing my experiences, findings, and feelings here, I hope to answer the question: “What could I do as an educational leader to ensure equity in Māori student achievement?” Although this project was designed to assist me as a practitioner to attempt something new, different, and culturally safe to improve Māori student achievement at Papatūānuku High School, I realised if I shared that journey of discovery it might positively influence the practice of other educational leaders as well. Over the course of this four-year journey the most significant new learning for me was, the only thing I had absolute control over if I wanted to effect positive change for Māori students at Papatūānuku High School was me and my professional approach and hautūtanga/leadership behaviours (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

Formulating Research Questions

This study explored my research journey as I investigated bicultural ways of leading as the principal at Papatūānuku High School. I focussed on identifying and adopting Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* of hautūtanga/leadership that reflected the needs of Māori students in their day-to-day interactions at school. My primary research question was:

What do hautūtanga/leadership pedagogies that are culturally appropriate and resonate with Māori students look like and if adopted by Pākehā leaders would there be a corresponding improvement in Māori educational achievement and enjoyment of school?

I was curious to know what bicultural hautūtanga/leadership practices looked like if consideration of the moral imperative of equity of educational outcomes for Māori students explicitly underpinned them (Durie, M. H., Hoskins, & Jones, 2012). I wanted to explore the dimensions of school hautūtanga/leadership that employed kaupapa Māori/*Māori*

principles, celebrated cultural difference, and developed strong relationships that empowered Māori students. Of interest to me was the not so subtle disconnect I observed between Māori students and their *whānau/families* with their Pākehā teachers. I was curious to know if I perpetuated a sense of disconnect as a Pākehā principal who had only ever viewed the world from a Westerncentric perspective.

Definition of Terms

Māori are the tangata whenua, the indigenous people who migrated from Hawaiki and settled in AotearoaNew Zealand approximately 700 years ago. Māori make up 14% of AotearoaNew Zealand's population and Māori history, language and traditions are central to AotearoaNew Zealand's identity.

Pākehā are AotearoaNew Zealanders of European descent. The term is a shortened form of *pakepakehā*, the name given to early foreign sailors.

Biculturalism [The myth] is an honouring of the principles of te Tiriti o Waitangi/*the Treaty of Waitangi* by ensuring indigenous Māori, defined as tangata whenua/*the people of the land* and the immigrant population defined as Pākehā/new to the land, are culturally competent, bilingual and benefit from the country's land and resources as equal partners.

Biculturalism [The reality] is predicated on the fact that the new nation of AotearoaNew Zealand, created by the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi/*the Treaty of Waitangi* was founded on two cultures. The first was the indigenous Māori culture defined as tangata whenua/*the people of the land*. The second culture was an immigrant culture defined as Pākehā/*new to the land*. Pākehā were a colonising force and almost obliterated Māori culture through the spread of disease and the implementation of Government policies that resulted in the assimilation of Māori. The two cultures have co-existed for over one hundred and fifty years but have not shared in the rich resources the country enjoys nor has there been equity of opportunity for Māori.

Bicultural Hautūtanga/leadership Pedagogy is defined here as *hautūtanga/leadership* best practice underpinned by an articulated philosophy, measurable goals, and observable everyday practices that recognise and combine traditional and contemporary Māori cultural knowledge, practices, and experiences with Western notions of self-knowledge, as a central tool for effective leaders.

Theoretical Underpinnings

Negotiating the structure of this thesis may be a new but not insurmountable challenge for those readers whose expectations of educational research are for quantitative, linear research methodologies that begin with a hypothesis and end with a neat conclusion. This study employs instead a qualitative approach, underpinned by a grounded theoretical framework (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). I deliberately rejected traditional positivist approaches (Cupchik, 2001), which require a clear research question and succinctly articulated research objectives, in favour of post-modern understandings of constructivism (Gash, 2014; Ocak, G., Ocak, İ., Boyraz, 2016; Vygotsky, 1978; Warrick, 2001) where theory is not tested but instead emerges from data as it is gathered and analysed (Hamilton et al., 2009). As a piece of qualitative research this study lent itself to the flexibility of bricolage (Denzin & Lincoln, 1999; Golafshani, 2003; Kincheloe, 2001; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Onwuegbuzie, Leech, & Collins, 2010), and allowed me to weave together action research (Candy, 2006), self-study research (Bullough & Pinnegar, 2001; LaBoskey, 2004b), practice-based research (Furlong & Oancea, 2005), and insider research methodologies (Greene, 2014; Mercer, 2007; Voloder, 2008). Adopting Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* approaches (Smith, G. H., 1997) assisted me to build a research space that took account of tikanga haumaru/*cultural safety*, kia tūpato/*care*, kia āta-whakaaro/*precise analysis*, and a commitment to ethical, spiritual, and kia āta-korero/*aspirational* discussion.

Although there were many participants over this four-year period I placed myself at the centre of the research study and used autoethnography (Adams, T. E., Holman Jones & Ellis, 2015; Chang, 2008; Ellis, 1997a; Ellis, 2004; Ellis, Adams T. E., & Bochner, 2011; Ellis & Bochner, 2000) to produce memoir, and personal, composite, and descriptive nonfiction narratives as data. The five narratives I used to begin each of Chapters 4 to 8 have two distinct functions: the first is to illuminate the experiences of Māori students, their whānau/*families*, and staff at Papatūānuku High School and the impact those experiences had had on their life chances (Millar, 2014); and the second is to explore five significant themes I identified that emerged from the analysis of the data. The five narratives are the vehicle I used to introduce each of the key themes and then to link my response to the implications they held for me as Papatūānuku High School's educational leader.

Autoethnography poses challenges for researchers who undertake this qualitative research approach. There is much criticism that autoethnography is both literally and

intellectually lazy and is nothing more than a self-indulged, narcissistic collection of self-absorbed exposés (Delamont, 2007). Far from being narcissistic and self-indulged, autoethnography provides a paradigm that provides researchers with a framework that allows for a systematic interrogation of self as subject. My interest was in challenging my thinking, feelings, *hautūtanga/leadership* practices, and a myriad of other notions about myself as a researched entity (Ellis, 2007). This methodology provided that opportunity.

Assumptions

My research journey began after three significant events occurred in my professional life between June 2009 and May 2010. Each event separately would only cause a principal mild concern but the combination of all three challenged my assumptions about my efficacy as an educational leader and highlighted for me the Westerncentric underpinnings of my understanding of the needs of Māori learners. The first was the unwelcome conversation with a Pākehā parent in a café in our small town, written as the introductory memoir to this chapter. The second was my discovery of unexpected anomalies in the achievement data of our Māori students when compared to their Pākehā peers, also described above; and the third was the unexpected revelation about my efficacy as a professional leader.

An Unexpected Conversation

My opening memoir describes an unwelcome conversation I had with a Pākehā parent in a café one day who held a different set of beliefs from mine about Māori. Even though I was an experienced secondary school principal I did not challenge what I believed to be an unacceptable bias and intolerable racist view. The encounter forced me to confront my personal cowardice in failing to advocate for two Māori students I knew well, or to challenge the parent who had so negatively stereotyped them without ever having met or spoken to them. Our conversation only lasted a few minutes in a crowded public cafe, but it left an indelible impression on me. It was not so much the verbal exchange that marked the encounter as a turning point for me, it was more about the fact that I knew I had failed Rau and Tēpene by virtue of my silence. It was my assumption that I couldn't make a difference to the situation because these entrenched views permeated our region's thinking. Such capitulation did not sit well with me at that time.

It is a huge lesson in humility to weigh your integrity and find yourself wanting. This conversation made me feel angry; not at the Pākehā parent, but at myself and my obvious reticence in challenging his deficit thinking (Foley, 1997; Pennington, 2006; Valencia, 2012)

around Māori engagement in education. I was a professional educator with significant influence in our community, yet I had failed to publicly challenge what I perceived to be inherent racism. My failure to articulate a contrary point of view highlighted for me my own lack of moral courage. My silence could have been interpreted as complicity or worse affirmation of the bias and negative stereotypes of Māori shared with me in this unwelcome conversation. Why was I silent? If the truth be told, I was afraid! My reticence stemmed from knowing the community I serve. There is a very distinct racial as well as social hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001) in our region of Aotearoa New Zealand. My husband is a fifth-generation member of our community, our grandson is 7th generation. My husband's great, great grandfather was the Chairman of the board of governors of Papatūānuku High School. To step out of these historically established hierarchies is to challenge an entrenched and rigid status quo (Bartley & Burnett, 2016; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). I believe my reserve stemmed from a fear of picking a fight I could never win and incurring personal criticism, that could result in the sudden loss of support from some quarters in my community. I felt the unspoken demands and expectations of conformity at that time.

Unexpected anomalies in Māori student achievement data

As a principal, when things are going well in your school not only are you relieved and grateful, you assume that they are going well for everybody. That is why it was a shock to find out that while our student achievement results were above national norms, they were not for students of Māori descent. I had failed to recognise that the extensive systems, structures, protocols, and practices that were the *kawa/customs* of our school were not culturally inclusive and, in some cases, not culturally safe. As well I had assumed that the feedback I received through my external appraisal, that identified me as a successful leader, was a view formed by a representative cross section of staff and students of the school. On questioning many of the participants about my *hautūtanga/leadership* skills and my annual appraisal, many reported never being asked for a personal view or comment about either. That the voices of Māori students were silent in that process highlighted how invisible they were in that important evaluation process.

An unexpected revelation about my efficacy as a professional leader

The two incidents described above challenged my thinking about my approach to school *hautūtanga/leadership*. Added to my growing concerns was the *hautūtanga/leadership* data reported in the New Zealand Centre for Educational Research (NZCER) national survey on educational *hautūtanga/leadership* practices (Wylie & Hodgen, 2010). Papatūānuku High School had participated in the survey during Term 4 of 2009 and received the data in May 2010

(NZCER, 2010). The survey included all seven aspects of the school-wide Educational Hautūtanga/*leadership* Practices scale, as well as the principal hautūtanga/*leadership* scale and a new scale NZCER had identified during survey trials, “Ensuring Māori Success.” The results for our school were positive; however, two comments contradicted my own perception of how I was performing as a principal. They were:

The principal was minimally effective in ensuring that the school’s strategic/long-term goals are seen as important to Māori students and their whānau (p. 15) and,

The principal was minimally effective in ensuring that there are clear school-wide targets for the academic achievement of Māori students (p. 16).

I had spent the first five years of my tenure focussing on strategies to improve student achievement and when our achievement data show steady improvement over time, I had incorrectly assumed the resulting improvements had occurred for all students at Papatūānuku High School. The realisation that they had not, and that some staff had identified a *hautūtanga/leadership* dimension that may have contributed to that lack of success, left me feeling I had failed our Māori students and their whānau/*families*.

Conscientisation

My growing conscientisation (Freire, 1970; 1998a; Hickey & Austin, 2007; Liu, K., 2012) of the cultural dilemmas faced by Māori students at Papatūānuku High School (Glynn, 2015) sharpened my research focus and exposed the unintended myopia of my hautūtanga/*leadership* view (Fullan, 1998; Fullan, 2005; Fullan & Hargraves, 1991). I internalised the failure of Māori students attending Papatūānuku High School to attain the same academic success as the Pākehā peers as my personal failure as an educational leader. I felt I had a moral obligation to rectify those disparities and chose insider, practice-based research to focus on building my efficacy as a bicultural educational leader. My research explored the existing binaries (Hall, 1993) that construct Pākehā as the norm and Māori as Other. I drew on my understanding of cultural capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 1985) as a beginning point to reflect on the disconnect that might exist for Māori students if their school environment failed to replicate any of the cultural imperatives of their home environment.

Adjusting the Lens

I began to notice recurring negative stereotypes of Māori in the media and the uncontested definitions of Māori in our staffroom, particularly definitions of Māori tamariki tāne/boys as unpredictable, fiery, violent, and dishonest. It had never occurred to me that AotearoaNew Zealand might simply be a microcosm of wider Westerncentric societies that reinforced notions of the Black Other (Wall, M., 1997). I began to look for stories in the media that reported Māori achievement as opposed to Māori dysfunction and was surprised to see little evidence of balance. Instead I noticed how often the media normalised a definition of Māori as violent, dangerous, drug addicted, and dysfunctional.

The static image I created for my reflective journal on the 11th June 2014 (See Figure 2) helped me to illustrate my thinking about how Māori had been so effectively constructed in the AotearoaNew Zealand media as Other.

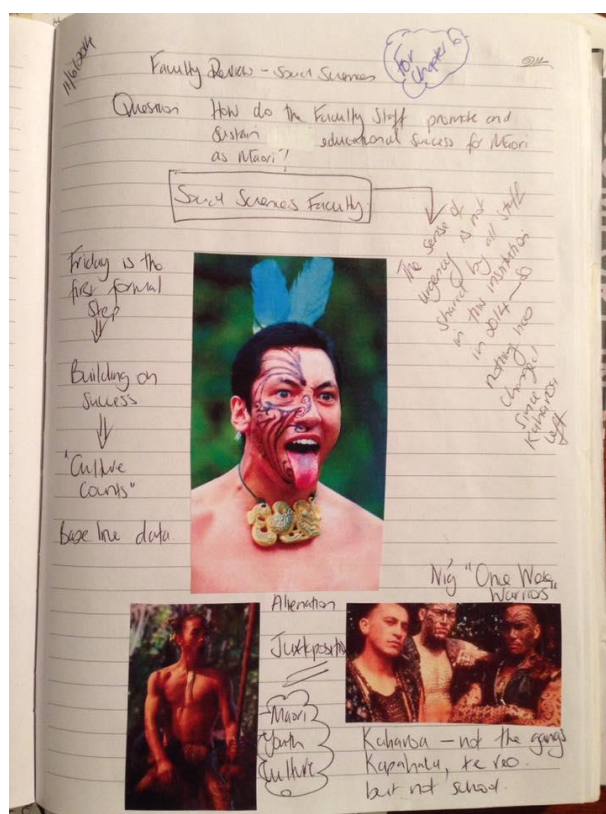


Figure 2. *The Personification of Racism (Reflective Journal, Vol 5: 140611).*

The central image is a Māori tamariki tāne/boys, presented as an *matā kai kutu/emerging warrior*, the personification of *te ao Māori/the Māori world view* of the potential of all Māori tamariki tāne/boys. The inherent *mana/strength*, integrity and power of the emerging warrior is reinforced by the image of a second *matā kai kutu/young warrior* performing a *wero/traditional*

challenge. I then deliberately juxtaposed those images with the image of the fictional character Nig Heke from the iconic AotearoaNew Zealand film “Once Were Warriors” (Thornley, 2001). The static image is designed to create a visual disconnect and reinforce the contradiction Māori experience when the world as they know it collides with the construct of te ao Māori/*Māori world view* the media perpetuates. This constant amplification of negative stereotypes of Māori creates an indelible visual metaphor of Māori as Other and reinforces the paradox Māori experience when Pākehā culture continually reinforces itself as the norm in AotearoaNew Zealand.

Colonisation and Cultural Reproduction

For the first time in both my professional and personal life I was confronted with the reality for Māori of colonisation and cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1971; Nash, 1990). It was an uncomfortable space to occupy when as a Pākehā I was seeing for the first time how Westerncentric hegemonic domination occurred (Florig, 2010) where the rules, social mores, values, language, and stereotypes continually and consistently discriminated against Māori. As an individual, a principal and a researcher I found this confronting and traumatic. The realisation that everything I was, everything I knew, believed, and understood contributed to social inequality, social injustice, and the perpetuation of racial discrimination was overwhelming. The significance of this new learning for me was therefore life altering.

Barriers to Learning

With my growing unease that many of the Māori students attending Papatūānuku High School faced challenges that I had not recognised, I began to look for events and circumstances that might be construed as barriers to learning that our Māori students encountered each day but went unnoticed (Henderson, 2013). McCormack (2015) articulates a deep criticism of AotearoaNew Zealand’s education system for the high numbers of Māori students who fall through the cracks (Stewart, 2012), leaving school with no formal qualifications or the skills required to assimilate easily into the paid work force. I created a new paradigm (See Figure 3) to assist me to conceptualise my thoughts as I sought to identify the barriers that contributed to that lack of success and the resulting implications that loss had for Māori in general.

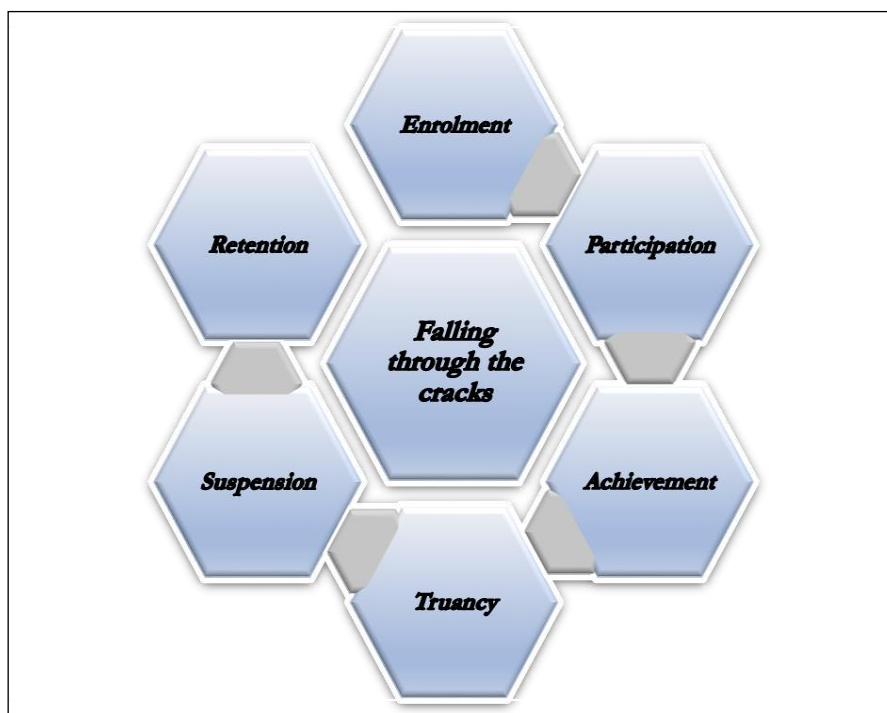


Figure 3. Falling Through the Cracks – *Māori Nonparticipation in New Zealand Education*

At the centre of the model is the unassailable truth that every year in AotearoaNew Zealand a significant proportion of Māori students who enrol in Year 9 literally disappear from school two years later at age sixteen. Without comment they simply fall through the cracks and are lost to education, most forever. The six most significant indicators of what is euphemistically described as a lack of engagement are a failure to enrol, a reluctance to participate, a lack of comparability with Pākehā peers, regular truancy, high rates of stand-downs and suspensions, and a lack of retention in the senior school. That these barriers to learning go unnoticed as Māori attendance and participation rates fall off over time and students are simply removed from the school's roll is unfathomable in a first world country.

I found it distressing that while I could identify some excellent stories of Māori student success at Papatūānuku High School, I could also identify a pattern of poor achievement levels, poor attendance, and little or no school/home communication, which all merited further investigation but was beyond the scope of this study. A cursory look at our destination data in Year 13 highlighted a significant fall off of Māori student participation in the senior school. Although not part of this study data was collected in anticipation of a review of Māori student retention the following year. This data was stored electronically in the school's secure electronic student achievement data base.

In discussing with participants, the reasons why they did not engage at school the often-repeated reply was, the teacher(s) didn't expect them to that teachers did not care whether they participated or not, so they thought "why should I even try" (Alton-Lee, 2003; Turner, Rubie-Davies, Webber, 2015). I was dismayed when I examined the Māori student data for attendance, stand-downs, and suspensions at the lack of consistency of the interventions of the school's pastoral staff. Our data for school stood-downs and suspensions provided grim reading. I had set up robust systems and structures within the school's House system to support student welfare in all areas. The system was designed to ensure all students enjoyed support, advice and guidance from their Deans, Heads of House, academic advisors, and counsellors. The data, however, did not support my assumptions that the system was supporting all students and instead our student achievement data mirrored the national data which chronicled an over-representation of Māori in the areas of poor enrolment figures, low participation rates, under achievement statistics, chronic truancy, high rates of suspension, and low retention rates. What merited closer investigation, however, was the glimmer of hope that the data provided that Māori students at Papatūānuku High School did in fact outperform Māori students from other schools of similar size and decile. This begged the question, "why did their performance not equal or better their Pākehā peers in their own school?"

Considerations and Scope

Sample size

I have introduced myself as an autoethnographer whose study focussed on an examination of my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice in relation to bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies and their potential to improve achievement levels for Māori students (Robinson, 2007). In considering the scope of this study I limited the field to one site where I was what (Morrow, 2005) describes as the sole researcher. As the subject of the research I worked with 60 Māori participants, both male and female, the youngest of whom was twelve years old and the eldest was in their late seventies. One of my four primary data set was the anecdotes shared with me privately by participants. I used multiple data sources including participant observations, field notes, participant collaboration, site documents, artefacts, reflective journals, and electronic data to test and corroborate information detailed shared in the anecdotes. By testing against student records and triangulating with friends and *whānau/family*, the information shared with me by the participants, I made every effort to ensure that the data collected were trustworthy (Cope, 2014), provided adequate variety, and were sufficient according to qualitative standards.

The use of memory, anecdote and narrative as data in the research process

The research provided me with the opportunity to weave as bricolage my memories, personal reflections, and the anecdotes shared with me by participants and then craft this miscellany into narratives, in the first instance to explore and bring clarity to my own praxis, and in the second to share it as vicarious experience with the reader. An autoethnographic self-study may attract some criticism by those who define such approaches as invalid. Such challenges may focus on the cogency of my personal memories, the memories of others, and the veracity of narratives that I have created and presented as data. My response to such constructive criticism is to be found in the pages of this thesis which offers a new perspective and an alternative to quantitative, positivist approaches to research.

This study is an exploration of my reaction to the thoughts, feelings, aspirations, values, hurts, and opinions shared with me by the participants. The study allows the reader to vicariously experience the dilemmas one principal faces as she seeks to lead in a bicultural way. As author I seek to provide the reader with new insights as they witness the growing understanding between me as the researcher, who is also the subject and the participants as the researched (Berger, L., 2001). In the final analysis, trust in both the process and the data must come from a confidence in the transparency collaborative processes and mutually respectful relationships can bring to research. My commitment to this research process was my deliberate avoidance of privileging one voice over all voices and affirming that all participants were regarded as experts and authorities (Barbour, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Tensions between epistemology, ontology and pedagogy

The academic definitions, meanings, characteristics, and explanations that underpinned my initial professional learning, understandings, and expressions of *hautūtanga/leadership* were influenced by patriarchal, hegemonic constructs (Tengan, 2002). My research approach required me to consider *te ao Māori/a Māori world view* (Marsden & Henare, 1992) and venture into previously uncharted territory as a Pākehā principal interested in bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* frameworks. I grappled with the idea that I might naturally default to deficit beliefs about Māori student achievement without realising. I had never considered before that my epistemic beliefs may be the very filters and blocks that influenced my thinking around Māori knowledge, language, and culture and made me blind to anything but Westerncentric perspectives. That I came from a dominant-hegemonic position had not occurred to me before. By looking through a new lens I had to consider that my long-held belief that the AotearoaNew Zealand education system was egalitarian may have been nothing more than a cultural

assumption. If that were so, then I also had to consider that my second long held belief - that Māori students had the same opportunities as Pākehā students - could also be challenged as just an assumption. What I had never thought about before was the concept of Māori epistemic self-determination or what that looked like in relation to language, culture, and pedagogical approaches in the school setting. In other words, being a well-meaning Pākehā educational leader, committed to inclusive practices and positive change does not equate to an understanding of Māori epistemology. If I wanted to make a contribution to solving the problems we currently face in education in AotearoaNew Zealand it was me who had to change. I resolved that the starting point for that change would be in exploring new knowledge and approaches that better suited Māori students and their whānau/families.

The Nonindigenous Researcher

Maged (2014) cautions critical researchers when she writes, “we are not neutral, and we are not objective. Like everyone else, we are part and parcel of the world that constructs us and that we construct” (p. 183). I acknowledge here that I am a nonindigenous researcher (Berryman et al., 2013; Bishop, 1999; Katene, 2010; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, S., 2002), whose study is underpinned by a kaupapa Māori/*Māori principals* research framework (Macfarlane, A. H., Glynn, Cavanagh, & Bateman, 2007). As a nonindigenous researcher my research intent was to explore my behaviours and new learning in relation to my experiences with the participants. The study was not designed to explore the behaviours of the participants, instead it is a personal account of my exploration of my own hautūtanga/*leadership* practices and my journey as I confronted the realities of my own ethnicity, cultural biases, and the inherent assumptions around Māori participation in education that I held. I choose to explore my professional hautūtanga/*leadership* practices through a Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* research framework was a strategy I employed to mitigate my inherent Westerncentric perspective.

Initially I did not realise I should have approached members of te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga Education Committee to discuss my research intentions. I attribute that oversight to my ideological positioning and my preconceived assumptions about research involving Māori and the epistemological baggage (Clough, Goodley, Lawthom, & Moore, 2004) I carried without realising that I did. The irony was that while I wanted to explore whether the integration of Māori cultural practices into my research methodology would assist me to negotiate mutually respectful and affirming ways of working with the participants and their whānau/families (Bishop, 1998; Koster, Baccar & Lemelin, 2012) it had not occurred to me how disrespectful

and unaffirming it was to fail to seek permission from te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga Education Committee's permission first.

SECTION 4 Organisation of the Study

To help the reader navigate this autoethnographic study (Hackley, 2007) each of the nine chapters includes a brief overview in italics. Each chapter also opens with either a nonfiction narrative or a personal memoir. I have used this literary device to personify the themes I distilled from the anecdotes participants shared with me over a two-year period, from 2010 to 2012, and to provide the reader with some insight into the dilemmas I faced as a result of that sharing. This autoethnographic study will not provide explicit findings or definitive reflections, but instead will challenge the reader to actively participate in the formation of new or deeper understandings around the importance of bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies.

Chapter 1 introduces the concepts of autoethnography and bricolage and explains my intention to utilise a multiple-methods approach in this study. The chapter opens with a personal narrative written as a composite memoir (Freeman, 2015; Holley & Colyar, 2012; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) and it is a conduit I use to introduce myself and provide an insight into one of the many *hautūtanga/leadership* dilemmas I faced as a Pākehā principal seeking new understandings about the possible links that exist between principal *hautūtanga/leadership* and Māori student achievement. The narrative frames the study by signalling my intention to utilise my personal experience of being caught in that space between (Kelly-McHale & Abril, 2015) two separate worlds where understandings of culture and biculturalism are often fraught and contestable. 'No man's land' is a metaphor I used to describe where I found myself as I began my search for explanations around why Māori students, who presented as bright, intelligent and often gifted *rangatahi/teenagers*, did not achieve to their full potential at Papatūānuku High School.

Chapter 2 describes the conceptual framework I employed when undertaking this autoethnographic, practice-based educational research project. The chapter includes a review of the predominantly Westerncentric, patriarchal literature that informed my *hautūtanga/leadership* training during the 1990s and early 2000; and the new literature I

encountered that showed me what had been missing in my professional thinking and understanding at that time. I found there was a plethora of research literature, written by Māori researchers that pointed to the importance of culturally relevant and culturally responsive pedagogies (Bishop, 2003; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2007) of Māori self-determination/*mana Rangatiratanga* (Bishop, 1996; Durie, M. H., 1998), and of Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* approaches in educational settings (Nepe, 1991); all of which it is argued has a positive and measurable impact on Māori student achievement (Bishop, 2003). The chapter moves to a discussion of the effectiveness of combining the best elements of Westerncentric and kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* approaches to *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies to create a proactive *hautūtanga/leadership* hybrid better suited to sustaining improvements in educational outcomes for Māori students in the 21st century (Berryman et al., 2013). The chapter concludes with a brief description of how I arrived at my primary and secondary research questions.

Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology I employed and my ontological position, which rejected a single absolute truth about how things are in the world; in this instance the world of Māori who had a specific relationship with Papatūānuku High School. The chapter is divided into three sections and began with a description of my experience as a research nomad searching for a methodology that would accommodate practice-based, insider research. I described my discovery of bricolage (Kincheloe, 2001), and the flexibility such an approach provided me to discover new knowledge in an organic and eclectic way. Lévi-trauss (1972) encouraged bricoleurs to use “whatever is at hand” (p. 11) when exploring the possibilities of human existence. The freedom that bricolage offered me as a researcher was explained in the second section where I detailed the processes I followed for the collection of primary data and my use of secondary data. The primary data were the anecdotes Māori students, their *whānau/families*, and staff shared with me in my role as principal at Papatūānuku High School, and the narratives and memoirs were what I produced and published as a researcher. The secondary data were the student information held on the school’s network pertaining to the issues raised or identified by the primary data. The third section provided me with the opportunity to discuss what is meant by ethical research and the importance of such research to enhance the lives of participants. I then considered the ethical implications for me as a researcher, of practice-based, insider research (Asselin, 2003; Mercer, 2007) when exploring the life experiences of Māori students, their *whānau/families*, staff and board of trustee members (Lambert, S., 2014). I discussed issues of confidentiality and the strategies I employed to protect participants who may have felt vulnerable or exposed as a result of the information

they shared. I outlined the steps I took to safe-guard not only their privacy but their sense of self, mana/*empowerment*, and dignity as I walked in their world gathering what was at hand to help me understand and make sense of their experiences.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 all follow a similar structure beginning with either a nonfiction narrative, composite narrative or a personal memoir which I crafted using details from my personal journey of discovery or from the data I collected as a research nomad throughout the study. Each narrative encapsulated a different theme or phenomenon I distilled from the data and was intended as a vehicle to provide the reader with a vicarious experience. Each section there after focussed on the analysis of the theme or phenomenon and made links to their importance when attempting to adopt bicultural hautūtanga/*leadership* practices. In the final section of each Chapter I explored the implications of my new knowledge, learning and understandings as a nonindigenous educational leader.

Chapter 9 is the final chapter and begins with a personal nonfiction narrative that explored my fledgling beginnings as a bicultural leader after my four-year-journey of discovery. The second section discussed the complexity of bricolage and its usefulness within the research paradigm adopted to draw together the threads of autoethnography, self-study, and practitioner-based research and at the same time enable me to immerse myself in the research process (Maggs-Rapport, 2001) in my own school setting. The next section explored my research findings and my posited grounded theories. The final section recognises that the lasting quality of this work will be judged not in its presentation or critique but by its capacity to raise consciousness, change perceptions, and effect positive change for Māori students in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system. Although the chapter speaks to the importance of bicultural hautūtanga/*leadership* pedagogies and their implications for improving Māori student engagement and achievement in AotearoaNew Zealand, more importantly it illustrates that such improvement will only occur if practitioners and not Māori students change, and that such change will make existing paradigms of subjugation obsolete.

SECTION 5 Summary

The Teller of Stories

All teachers are the tellers of stories. They tell important stories: of people and places, science and history, countries and languages, art and music, events and experiences. Chapter 1

introduces yet another anecdote, told by yet another teacher. It is an honest and personal anecdote of my experiences as a Westerncentric leader wishing to respond to unexpected and unacceptable disparities in the achievement of Māori students at Papatūānuku High School when compared to their Pākehā peers. This research is my personal narrative about my growth as an educational leader, within the real-life context of the school I lead (Coulter, Michael, & Poynor, 2007). As autoethnography the work identifies me as the subject of the research and it is my voice that is ever present (Lau, 2002). I am the anecdote, I am in the anecdote and the anecdote is me; however, I am cognisant that within the study I also shared narratives that were not my own. They were the personal treasures/*taonga* shared with me by participants their whānau/family, and staff at Papatūānuku High School. It is acknowledged here, that these participants are narrators in their own right and the mahi/*work* is a collaborative effort.

I did not intend my thesis to be an angry rant, a one-woman crusade to fight systemic racism, intolerance, and discrimination; although there were many occasions throughout this research journey when I felt a real sense of anger at what I perceived to be entrenched racism disguised as cultural munificence. Rather, I attempted to present a personal memoir of a journey of personal discovery, reflection, and change as I looked for more than Westerncentric tinkering in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system, in favour of robust, culturally appropriate and meaningful change to the hautūtanga/*leadership* pedagogies we employ as contemporary hautūtanga/*leadership* practitioners. Research undertaken in the last decade (Hattie, 2009; Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd, 2009; Robinson, Lloyd, & Rowe, 2008; ten Bruggencate, Luyten, Scheerens, & Slegers, 2012) indicates there are no direct positive effects of school leader activities on student achievement. It was important to me that first and foremost my research assisted me to discover new ways of leading (Harris & Spillane, 2008) as a principal that would better awhi/*support* Māori students at Papatūānuku High School and help them to achieve to their full potential. As a reflexive practitioner (Bleakley 1999), I knew if I wanted things to change, I needed to role model that change in my day-to-day practice. Through reflexive practices I challenged my fixed assumptions, began to identify the deficits in my thinking and adopt new pedagogical practices to assist me to break down the barriers to learning experienced by Māori students in their daily school lives at Papatūānuku High School.

This research study explored my hautūtanga/*leadership* as a principal as I sought to adopt bicultural approaches (Sullivan, 1994), informed by Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles*, pedagogies, and ideologies that embrace and celebrate the values, beliefs, and cultural mores of Māori. Papatūānuku High School's geographical location in the South Island of

AotearoaNew Zealand contributed to the difficulty I experienced because the demographic trend is predominantly Pākehā. Colleagues regularly asked me why I was bothering to investigate changes to my hautūtanga/*leadership* practices when things were going well at the school, we had so few Māori students anyway, and some even going so far as to say, “why rock the boat?” Milne (2009) argues, “the reality is that as teachers, as school leaders, or as education policy makers and officials ... are all part of each child’s learning journey. If some children are failed by our education system, we are all complicit in that systemic failure and we all need to take responsibility for changing it” (p. 3). I am a Pākehā AotearoaNew Zealander, an educational leader and a researcher, and I felt it was my personal, professional and moral responsibility to explore alternatives to my existing hautūtanga/*leadership* pedagogies (Anderson, D., & Anderson, L., 2010) in attempt to provide hautūtanga/*leadership* that would resonate with Māori students and their whānau/*families*. I was intent on ensuring that Māori students’ success mirrored that of their Pākehā peers and believe that is the wero/*challenge* for all those who lead in AotearoaNew Zealand education the 21st century.

He tangata ki tahi
A woman of her word

CHAPTER 2 A REVIEW OF THE HAUTŪTANGA/LEADERSHIP LITERATURE

SECTION 1 A Personal Memoir

*Love, Loss, and Hautūtanga/leadership
March 1971*

Before ...

I remember when our father told our mother that he was going to Vietnam, and she had ranted and raved and cried; and told him he couldn't, insisted it was too dangerous, reminded him he had a family, that he had us, that we were his responsibility.

He had smiled and told her gently, "This is what soldiers do."

He explained with unconcealed pride that there was no greater privilege for a soldier than to serve his country and that this was what he was trained to do. He was trained to lead.

Ignoring the silent tears slowly sliding down my mother's porcelain cheeks, he lined my sisters and me up, three miniature soldiers standing to attention and delivered "the speech."

He insisted that service before self was the most important thing for an individual, for a soldier, for a community and most importantly for a leader. He told us, it would be alright. He was right about many things, but not about everything!

He said goodbye, he left us to serve in Vietnam, and then true to his word ...

he came back to us ...

During ...

Cocooned in a soft blanket of darkness, I am woken by an unfamiliar sound. I immediately lie to attention in my bed. I am now very practised at being quiet, very practiced at being indistinguishable, very practiced at being invisible. As my eyes become accustomed to the velvet night, I can tell from the shadows on the roof it is very late.

I concentrate on the irregular breathing of my sister Catherine as she listlessly tosses on the bottom bunk. I hang my head over the wooden safety barrier a fraction and study her pale damp face and wonder what fears she is facing in that midnight horror world of dreams. Fear has been her constant companion since our father's return, for unlike me she does not believe in miracles.

I can hear muffled voices down in the sitting room. Someone is crying.

There's been a lot of crying lately.

A tear of soft orange light appears below our bedroom door. Someone has turned the hall light on, someone is coming. I close my eyes, still my breathing and pretend to be asleep. Our bedroom door opens quietly and the dark shadows that cocoon us fragment momentarily infused with golden light. There is a pause, soft breathing and then the door closes plunging

the room into darkness. I want to sit up, call out, ask what is happening but I am paralysed, not with fear, not with foreboding, but by discipline.

Holding myself tightly together lest I fragment into a million pieces I strain to hear the muffled conversation in the hall. It is no good, the words are inaudible and as I slowly drift into oblivion, blind to the unfolding horror.

After ...

I am dreaming about thunder, it is all around me. I can hear my mother crying. I can hear people talking as the thunder grows louder. I am worried, confused! Why are there people here in the middle of the night?

The thunder rolls on ... threatening ... filling the hallway ...

Don't they know that we must be very quiet because our father is so sick? Don't they know that our mother likes to be alone with our father at this time of night? Don't they know that our mother says that is her special time with our father? Don't they know how important that is?

The thunder is all around me, in me, through me, threatening, menacing ... it overwhelms me.

Panic engulfs me! Why are people here in the middle of the night?

I lie very flat in my bed, squeeze my eyes tightly shut and hold my breath. I feel a sense of relief as the thunder begins to fade and slowly relax and as the portentous silence envelops me carrying me gently into the deceitful world of dreams.

Now ...

It is morning; the house is still and silent. I slide down my ladder, my warm toes against the cool metal. My chilling feet search out my fluffy slippers and together we tip toe up the hallway to my parents' bedroom. I catch my breath! The bed is neatly made, the ashtrays are empty, the coffee cups are gone, the medicine tray has miraculously disappeared and the curtain rustles from the gentle breeze coming through the open window.

There is an unfamiliar smell in the room ...

Hope?

My mind whirls. This can mean only one thing! A miracle! Our father is well again!

He was invalided home from Vietnam, but I always knew it would be OK. His horror illness cured because I had not lost faith, I had done what good soldiers do, I had never given up! I turn and run down the hall to the sitting-room expecting to see my father there, well, joyful and smiling. I am filled with such a sense of relief. I push open the door, tumbling into the sitting room in my excitement.

Before I can speak, I realise something is profoundly wrong. My big sister Julia is kneeling next to our mother. They have both been crying, their eyes red and swollen, their cheeks streaked with tears! I suddenly don't know them! They are still like statues, a macabre tableau of despair. A chasm of catastrophe separates us. The room is suffocating, me, the thunder returns, but I realise in my panic it is the sound of my heart as it threatens to burst from my tightening chest.

And in that moment childhood innocence is a ruin, tethered for eternity to the silence of sorrow. Adrenaline consumes excitement destroying my ability to think, to breathe, to see, to hear, to touch. There is nothing, nothing but a void ... and I am ... falling ... falling ... falling ...

In the periphery of my blurred vision I see a man I do not know, his white collar worn backwards is a symbol of our defeat. My mother looks at me, her eyes glistening with tears. She deflates when I shout, "Where is my father?" and crumples like tissue into my sister's embrace. I am angry, frightened, and I shout again, "Where is my father?" I am hysterical with the need to see him and tell him how excited I am that he is up and well, and that things can go back to normal.

Then suddenly my mother is holding me, sobbing into my sleep tousled hair, stroking my back, my face.

From a distance, I can hear her voice, words thin as ice, sharp as needles, strained and punctuated by gulps and gasps for air – she too is falling ...

... She is telling me something, but her words make no sense,

... They are foreign words, cruel words, words that threaten to destroy us,

... words I refuse to hear,

My mother continues to fall ...

She forms and reforms those cruel words

... whispers cruel words,

... gulps cruel words,

...drowns in cruel words.

I stand alone in that moment, forever.

My eleven-year old world ceases to exist ...

... Forever

To lead is to serve and that service must always come before thoughts of self.

SECTION 2 Introduction

Chapter 2 is a significant linchpin in the overall structure of this thesis. The chapter began with section one, a personal memoir which served as a portal for the reader into my eleven-year-old world. It is a world of love, loss, and *hautūtanga/leadership* and the description of the death of my father as a result of his tour of duty in Vietnam in 1967, provides an insight into my assumptive belief that *hautūtanga/leadership* would always require sacrifice before self, underpinned a loyalty based upon the mantra of no man left behind. The second section provided a brief overview of the aspects covered in Chapter 2. In the third section I shared my understandings of *hautūtanga/leadership*, forged as much by the maelstrom of events I experienced in my formative years, as my experiences as a twenty-year-old student enrolled in the three-year secondary teacher training programme at Massey University from 1979 to 1981. The fourth section described the AotearoaNew Zealand education system I entered in 1982 as a beginning teacher, and the constant educational reforms my colleagues and I experienced as professional educators over the next three decades (Codd, 1993; Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999). The fifth section briefly described my crisis of confidence in 2009 when, as an experienced first-time principal, I was confronted with the unexpected truth that I did not understand the significant connections between my *hautūtanga/leadership* practices and the achievement rates of Māori students at Papatūānuku High School. The sixth section provided an overview of the literature I explored to address this gap and broaden my understanding of *hautūtanga/leadership* to include a kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* research approach.

I used the work of Gunter (2009) to help me unpick the complexity of the plethora of definitions applied to the term *hautūtanga/leadership* and to assist me to position myself within that domain as a critical/humanistic leader. I identified the cultural gaps that existed for me as a principal trained within a Westerncentric paradigm and discussed the impact such *hautūtanga/leadership* had on Māori student achievement at Papatūānuku High School. I then explored my new understandings of kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* research approaches to *hautūtanga/leadership* and their importance when developing bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* practices (Javidan, Dorfman, De Luque, 2006; Lakshman, 2013). The seventh section explores my growing understanding of the significance of bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* to AotearoaNew Zealand education. Chapter 2 concluded with section eight, offering a brief summary of the chapter; from my experiences at age eleven, when I learned the true cost of selfless *hautūtanga/leadership*, to my discovery as a first-time principal that

hautūtanga/*leadership* was a contestable cultural construct. I included my musings on the idea that hautūtanga/*leadership* is a mosaic of capabilities, and the best leaders are those who create shared spaces in which to lead, and adopt capabilities depending on the needs of those who occupy those spaces.

SECTION 3 Personal Understandings of Hautūtanga/*leadership*

When I began this research study in 2010, I believed I had an astute understanding of the AotearaNew Zealand education system and was confident in my hautūtanga/*leadership* skin. My confidence stemmed from my lengthy hautūtanga/*leadership* apprenticeship, beginning as a classroom teacher in 1982, through to my first appointment as principal in 2003. My early understanding of hautūtanga/*leadership* was intuitive (Norris & Achilles, 1988), forged from the often-painful experiences of my childhood. My father had modelled servant hautūtanga/*leadership* (Greenleaf, 1970) in my formative years and it was his sacrifice that personified my own definition of hautūtanga/*leadership* as a “personal commitment to the ideals of courage, integrity, service before self and self-sacrifice”. The loss of my father had a huge impact on me and contributed to the subliminal assumptions I held about leaders as heroes, as brave and selfless individuals.

Lieutenant Colonial Hal Moore was an American war hero who also had a significant influence on me in my formative years, not just because of his influence on my father. His was a story of bravery and courage beyond all reason in the mind of a seven-year-old child. A story my father told our family often before he too was deployed to Vietnam was about Moore’s courage, his heroic hautūtanga/*leadership* and what he promised his platoon before they deployed for Vietnam in 1965. Moore and Galloway (2004) vowed:

We are going into battle against a tough and determined enemy. I can’t promise you that I can bring you all home alive. But this I swear, before you and before Almighty God: that when we go into battle, I will be the first to set foot on the field, and I’ll be the last to step off. And I will leave no one behind. Dead or alive, we will all come home together, so help me God (p. 214).

My father, like Moore, never wavered in his commitment to duty and so, as I grew into adulthood, I was driven by the notion of *hautūtanga/leadership* as, “If not you? - who? If not now – when?”

SECTION 4 Education Reform in AotearoaNew Zealand (1980–2010)

I was a beginning teacher in the early 1980s when life in schools was a lot less complex than it is in the 21st century. Leaders were teachers who were promoted internally into management and were described as either good or bad. If you had a good one you were lucky and if you did not you quietly persevered in your classroom, kept your head down and remained silent, until either you left, or they did. In the halcyon days of my early teaching career schools I was naively unaware that schools were in fact hotbeds of political intervention and social engineering. I believed, as Maharatna (2014) asserts, that schools had a:

humanistic vision and liberal view of education in which education is considered as a vehicle for moving forward not only to a higher material level but also - through its cultivation of original knowledge, objective scholarship, critical and perceptive thinking, creative imagination, democratic ideals - to a higher level of enlightenment, civilizational ethos, and citizenship (p. 1).

Following the global financial crisis of 1987 AotearoaNew Zealand experienced significant economic and social change. The then Labour Government established a Task Force, chaired by Auckland Businessman Michael Picot, and undertook a radical review of the administration and management of the AotearoaNew Zealand education system (Macpherson, 1989; Picot, Ramsay, Rosemergy, Wereta, & Wise, 1988). The Government accepted the majority of recommendations made in the Picot Report and on 1 October 1989 *Tomorrow's Schools* (Lange, 1988), became the blue print for the wide-ranging restructuring of the administration of education (Macpherson, 1989) that became enshrined in the Education Act 1989.

During the 1990s principals transformed from educational leaders into change managers, change agents, and leaders of change (Fullan, 2006). Fullan and Miles, (1992) argued that “modern societies are facing terrible problems and educational reform is seen as a major source of hope for solving (p 752).

During this time change was the only constant in education, the Government amended the 1989 Education Act in 1992 and removed all school enrolment zones arguing that providing parents with greater choice over school selection would provide improved success for students. The ramifications of such a paradigm shift saw students no longer guaranteed a place in their local school and parents left to negotiate their children's enrolment in what suddenly became a deregulated market. Watkins (2015) argues that the reforms were nothing more than the politicisation of education and an acquiescence to the demands of techno-global neoliberalism. Given that applying neoliberal ideologies in an educational setting was a global phenomenon (Ball, 2012; Lerner & Craig, 2005), many educationalists saw these changes as an assault on the humanistic, scholarly enterprise of universal education, and forewarned this would be an end of the intrinsic value post-World War II societies had placed on public education (Weiner, 2007).

However educational leaders chose to interpret the political changes imposed on them and their institutions at that time, the reality was they were powerless to escape the professional requirements introduced into their performance reviews. Added to the responsibility to lead change in the education sector Principals were over the next ten years provided with a plethora of *hautūtanga/leadership* descriptors that changed and morphed with the ebb and flow of each new restructuring initiative (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005). "Transactional" leaders were redefined as "instructional" (Shatzer, 2009; Tirozzi, 2001) then "transformational" leaders (Bass & Riggio, 2006) and then just as quickly they became "Strategic" leaders charged with leading schools forward with an absolute focus on raising student achievement. Principals became the key drivers in implementing new government policies, designed to transform the AotearoaNew Zealand education system throughout the 1990s. The 1990s saw schools transformed from halls of academia to corridors of corporate businesses; education was reduced to a service, knowledge became a commodity, students morphed into clients, and assessment was reduced to the golden ticket for upward mobility (Payne & Brown, T. M., 2016).

Thrupp (1999) highlights the very real pressures principals faced when they were confronted by an:

uncompromising stance on school performance in which the
quality of student achievement ... [was] seen as the result of

school policies and practices and any reference to broader socio-political factors ... [was] ruled out as an excuse for poor performance (p. 196).

Espoused neoliberal meritocratic ideology continued to influence all educational institutions into the 2000s (Maharatna, 2014). Political remonstrations around failure within the education system were levelled at either the individual, who it was deemed had not applied themselves, or families it was assumed did not care about or value education enough (Liou & Rotheram-Fuller, 2016). There was no acknowledgement that dominant Westerncentric hegemony and the far-right had captured and now controlled education policy (Young, 2010), the National Curriculum Frameworks, and the national assessments methods, all of which perpetuated existing disparities for ethnic minorities (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009). In effect principals of self-managing schools had been handed a poisoned chalice. They were expected to work with their boards of trustees to formulate clear mission statements, set smart goals, ensure the accurate measurement of staff performance and the steady and measurable improvement of all students' achievement. The expectation that principals could ensure equal opportunity and success for all completely disregarded the fact that they were to achieve this miracle within a system that by virtue of its flawed design could only ever perpetuate inequalities. Added to this burden on principals were the Government mandated quality assurance protocols (Thrupp, 1999), which outlined the fiscal responsibilities and professional accountability (Hallinger, 2005) that also fell to the principal as the school's Chief Executive Officer (CEO).

In the early 2000s, the neoliberal fixation with user-pays systems, meritocratic achievement underpinned by corporate notions of efficiency, managerial accountabilities, competition, and effective organisational outcomes blurred clear definitions of educational *hautūtanga/leadership* in terms of meaning and purpose (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999). The compelling rhetoric of the new-right of the economic benefits of a streamlined, competitive education system, and the virtues of user pays and greater cost efficiencies that would result led to the further erosion of trust in teachers and schools. The egalitarian ethos of schools as bastions of social justice (Cambron-McCabe & McCarthy, 2005; Cochran-Smith, 2010) was supplanted by the new-right ideology market forces and competition. The only constant for educational leaders working in this fluid and dynamic environment was change. Principals as instructional leaders found it more and more difficult to meet public expectations and political pressure as the local school transitioned into a learning organisation (Silins &

Mulford, 2002). Far-right political pundits made clear their expectation that schools were, like any other business, required to make a profit. Principals once again found themselves to be the agents of change (Fullan, 1993), expected to be transformational (Fullan 2006) in their approach as they ushered in a new culture of competition and merit-based measurement.

Those principals committed to social justice railed against entrenched biases and a lack of any real expectations for success of students from low socioeconomic communities and ethnic minorities (Liou & Rotheram-Fuller, 2016; Tirozzi, 2001). Māori students, who were often represented in both demographics, could not compete with students from more affluent backgrounds, who enjoyed better resourcing in the schools they attended and invariably benefited from the consistency of teacher quality and continuity. Supporters of the commercialisation of public education applauded notions of decentralisation and the subordination of education to economic objectives (Codd, 2004).

As educational leaders in the first decade of the 21st century, my cohort faced the challenge of working with a Government committed to neoliberal ideologies and a view that the economic interests of individuals should not be fettered by considerations of social equity (Goldstein, Macrine, & Chesky, 2011; Smyth, 2003). In our role as senior managers we grappled with the inevitable competition between our schools, and what we saw as the privatisation of education. The introduction of Charter schools (Ladd & Fiske, 2003), inadequate annual operations grant funding, mandatory requirements for fiscal and educational accountability, coupled with the growing demands of annual audits, the implementation of national standards in assessment, compulsory testing, and an ever-increasing demand for greater student choices (Thrupp, 2016), contributed to our growing lack of professional satisfaction, mounting workloads and disillusionment about what the future held for education.

A Paradigm Shift - From Competitive to Collaborative Educational Hautūtanga/leadership

It is argued here that the commodification of education over the last thirty years transformed schools from institutions of learning into competitive businesses trading in a quasi-free-markets. This repositioning of education as a service and the new definitions of schools as providers of educational services (Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Ladd & Fiske, 2003; Wylie, 1997) resulted in one significant unanticipated consequence. For many schools the loss was defined as the loss of the advantage they had historically enjoyed of close community support and the close connections to local families and their children. Sadly, in the first two decades of the new millennium the Government's National Educational Goals, specifically National Achievement

Guideline 1 and National Achievement Guideline 2 (Ministry of Education, 2015) had not been achieved and there have therefore been no measurable improvements for Māori students. With growing disquiet about the inequities manifest in the Tomorrow's Schools model the Government moved, with little warning to the education sector and even less preparation, away from the self-management approach to school administration (Caldwell & Spinks, 1999) and articulated an intention to transform schools into communities of learning (DuFour, Richard & DuFour, Rebecca., 2009; DuFour, Richard & Marzano, 2011). As a newly appointed principal in 2003 I felt constant pressure to hold all these *hautūtanga/leadership* balls in the air at once and ensure that my school performed above or beyond Government expectations. If I extend the metaphor, however, I do not recall one of those balls being the development of deep and lasting relationships with Māori students and their *whānau/families*.

Principal leaders now found they were expected to lead in an environment committed to collaboration, sustainability, and decentralisation. Our core business in raising student achievement remained the same, but our focus now centred on promoting and sustaining shared meanings and understandings of education as a collaborative enterprise (Fullan, 2005; Hargreaves & Fink, 2006; Leithwood & Jantzi, 2000). The difficulty principals experienced with this new political framework was not in their ability to lead in this paradigm, but the politically naive assertion that such a significant paradigm shift from a competitive to a collaborative environment could be achieved without some *ātetenga/resistance* after nearly two decades of a system based on meritocratic rivalry.

SECTION 5 Crisis of Confidence

It is ironic that for more than five decades successive AotearoaNew Zealand Governments have been elected on the promise of raising standards, lifting student achievement levels and ensuring the education system provides improved educational outcomes for all students (Skerrett, 2010). Yet history records that no matter the approach, the money invested, or the constant evaluation and re-evaluation schools have been subjected to, the educational achievement of Māori students has remained static as levels of poverty have increased (Donaldson, 2012; Peters, 2013). One of the opportunities an autoethnographic approach provided me with as both subject and researcher was to place me at the centre of the literature that explores *hautūtanga/leadership* and examine my own professional practice in relation to national and international perspectives. My early experiences of *hautūtanga/leadership* were dominated by a top-down approach to management prevalent in the 1990s.

Hautūtanga/leadership Perspective

As a Head of Faculty and then Deputy Principal in the 1990s I often felt a gap existed between the *hautūtanga/leadership* style I felt I had to emulate, the *hautūtanga/leadership* theory I read, and the practical *hautūtanga/leadership* challenges I faced in my day-to-day working life. I was mindful that the literature included a plethora of rich examples of every gambit around *hautūtanga/leadership* approaches, styles, methods, and practices (Currie & Lockett, 2007; Dickson, Den, Hartog, & Mitchelson, 2003 Greenleaf, 1970). My own experiences, however, of what was required of educational leaders during the 1990s were heavily influenced by Westerncentric, patriarchal perspectives and by theorists who advocated *hautūtanga/leadership* skills that facilitated government policy effectively, delivered organisational outcomes, and guided and directed instructional improvement (Elmore, 2004). It was not all about strong heroes, leading from the top within an efficient managerial framework. There was little room for a servant leader (Greenleaf, 1970) in the context of that top-down structure. It seemed to me that good leaders were rewarded if they exhibited personality characteristics which included strong mindedness, directness, charisma, and a dogged determination to achieve smart goals, deadlines, and fiscal neutrality.

When I became a principal in 2003, I was interested in praxis (Seo & Creed, 2002), the relationship between theory and practice – practice and theory. I was looking for clarity around the idea that as an educational leader I was not only a practitioner, but a theorist and researcher as well. In my day-to-day interactions with the Papatūānuku High School staff and students my responses were spontaneous and not determined by a prescribed and inflexible adherence to theory. I managed my *hautūtanga/leadership* self by using a process of reflection-in-action (El-Dib, 2007). I also drew on both my experience and expertise and the vast repertoire of past successes and failures I had experienced in my varied *hautūtanga/leadership* roles. The notion of *hautūtanga/leadership* praxis (Brown, J., 2004; Foster, W. M. & Wiebe, 2010; Furman, 2012; Leonard, & McLaren, 2002; Rolfe, 1993) born out of this synergy, helped me to understand the value of grounded theory and its value in enhancing our understanding of how theory informs practice and practice informs theory.

Confronting Realities

Although I was a confident leader, I recognised I had a skewed view of *hautūtanga/leadership* literature and theory. I realised that true *hautūtanga/leadership* was not

all about strong heroes – the nostalgic view from childhood, nor did it have to be all about leading from the top within a so-called efficient managerial framework – the technocratic *hautūtanga/leadership* style favoured in the 1990s. I began to read the early 21st century literature on contingent *hautūtanga/leadership*, values-based *hautūtanga/leadership*, student and learning centred *hautūtanga/leadership*, student-*hautūtanga/leadership*, multicultural *hautūtanga/leadership*, and *hautūtanga/leadership* within varying cultural contexts and reflect on their relevance within my professional context.

After nearly seven years as principal at Papatūānuku High School I found myself blind-sided in June 2009 when I joined other principals from all over Canterbury at a Ministry of Education Forum on student achievement in the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). A representative from the Ministry asked the principals present, “What are the connections between principal *hautūtanga/leadership* and successful Māori student achievement outcomes?” I found I was unable to confidently or coherently articulate an immediate response to that question. There was no inspirational moment of clarity in that moment where, having accessed my prior knowledge, learning and experience, I could honestly pinpoint the connections between my *hautūtanga/leadership* skills as a principal and successful Māori student achievement outcomes. Over the weeks that followed I reflected critically on why the question had thrown me. I recognised that while I had genuinely believed I was doing my best for all students attending Papatūānuku High School, the reality was that I had no real knowledge of indigenous writing about *hautūtanga/leadership* in relation to Māori student achievement. In fact, the notion that my *hautūtanga/leadership* style or approach needed to be different when working with Māori students had never occurred to me before. I realised I did not have a large body of indigenous research to draw from to inform my professional *hautūtanga/leadership* practice. I concluded that it was my responsibility to address the fact that I had no real understanding of Māori perspectives around *hautūtanga/leadership*.

New Beginnings

I decided I wanted to advocate with authority for Māori and that to do so I had to build my knowledge and understanding of cultural awareness, culturally safe environments, and inclusive pedagogies that recognised the value of Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles*. When I stepped back and considered our school systems, structures and practices, I decided they could be criticised for reflecting hegemonic imperatives of authority, competition, and control. The only school-wide activity that acknowledged *taha Māori/Māori character* or considered *te ao Māori/ Māori world view* was the full-school powhiri/*welcome* we organised for new students

and staff at the beginning of each school year. The notion of culturally appropriate *hautūtanga/leadership* practices, let alone culturally appropriate opportunities for Māori students, were not embedded in the *hautūtanga/leadership* structures of the school at that time. I had no doubt that as an institution we demonstrated effective and efficient *hautūtanga/leadership*. What I was coming to realise was the measures used to report our success came from Westerncentric perspectives that prized economic, political, managerial, and organisational success above all (Hogan & Kaiser, 2005), and seemed from my perspective to lack a humanistic approach that valued the personal, individual, and cultural success of societies (Gunter, 2009).

Seeking Connections

When exploring the possibilities that Māori *hautūtanga/leadership* practices (Wikitera, 2011) offered educational leaders I realised that many of my *hautūtanga/leadership* practices could be viewed by Māori as lacking the *ira tangata/human quality* that is so important to Māori when forming trusting relationships. *Hautūtanga/leadership* that seeks to wield power and control over others, whether it be through legislation, policy, or practices will always favour the dominant culture to the detriment of ethnic minorities (Bishop, 2003b). It was the realisation that if I wanted to know the answer to the Ministry of Education's question, "What are the connections between principal *hautūtanga/leadership* and successful Māori student achievement outcomes?" then I would need to know more about what Wikitera (2011) describes as servant *hautūtanga/leadership*, where leaders aspire to be "servants to their *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and the wider communities they relate to" (p. 3). Although I had encountered the Westerncentric concept of servant *hautūtanga/leadership* (Greenleaf, 1970; Sergiovanni, 1993), it was my lack of understanding of the concept from a Māori perspective that signalled a significant gap in my *hautūtanga/leadership* knowledge. It was this gap that became the central focus of this doctoral study.

SECTION 6 Overview of the Literature

This overview of the literature on educational *hautūtanga/leadership* serves three purposes; the first is to corral and conceptualise my understanding of *hautūtanga/leadership*; the second, to explore the tensions around definitions and claims and counter claims regarding essential elements and key responsibilities implicit in successful *hautūtanga/leadership* and; the third, to explore the literature I was familiar with and writing that was newly discovered as I deliberately searched for clues about the connections between principal *hautūtanga/leadership* and successful Māori student achievement outcomes. The chapter does not proffer one cohesive

or definitive definition of *hautūtanga/leadership*, because to do so would be to ignore both the complexity and contextual underpinnings of this indefatigable construct. My initial search of the school *hautūtanga/leadership* literature provided a plethora of writing, from so many different perspectives and contexts, it was overwhelming. Leithwood, Seashore, Anderson, S., and Wahlstrom (2004) argue that it is futile to try and provide a one-size-fits-all definition of *hautūtanga/leadership* because:

Different forms of leadership are described in the literature using adjectives such as “instructional,” “participative,” “democratic,” “transformational,” “moral,” “strategic” and the like. But these labels primarily capture different stylistic or methodological approaches to accomplishing the same two essential objectives critical to any organization’s effectiveness: helping the organization set a defensible set of directions and influencing members to move in those directions. Leadership is both this simple and this complex (p. 6).

Hautūtanga/leadership Contexts

Although reading widely it became apparent that *hautūtanga/leadership* theory had as many commentators as it had perspectives. All researchers involved in the discourse of *hautūtanga/leadership* had unique cultural, political, economic, and personal viewpoints that were informed and determined by their own cultural context. The *hautūtanga/leadership* landscape is therefore a site of struggle as theory is rigorously interrogated and ideas and assertions are constantly tested and contested.

The literature included here is a collection of the early writing I was most familiar with juxtaposed with the new research and writing I encountered as I searched for answers that could help me to begin to fill the gaps I had identified in my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice (George, 2003; Gilbert, 2005; Glickman, Glynn, Cavanagh, & Bateman, 2007; Gordon & Ross-Gordon, 2007). I had not expected the plethora of writing located within an AotearoaNew Zealand context, for example: Bishop et al., (2009); Bishop et al., (2003); Bishop and Glynn (1999); Hohepa and Robson, (2008); and I admit to feeling a little overwhelmed at my lack of knowledge around the rich history, complexities, and cultural nuances that inform *te ao Māori/Māori world view*. It is only some of the huge body of writing that constitutes the research undertaken by AotearoaNew Zealand indigenous researchers that is present below.

I set the parameters for this overview of the literature to encompass writing from 1990 through until 2017, because that period frames my journey from classroom teacher, to head of faculty, to deputy principal, to principal, and finally to researcher. I have included literature produced in four Commonwealth countries: AotearoaNew Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, and as well in the United States of America. Gunter’s (2009) description of the four main positions in *hautūtanga/leadership* studies was the touchstone for me in the plethora of writing on *hautūtanga/leadership* I encountered as I sought to organise my thinking around my own *hautūtanga/leadership* practices. (See Table 4).

Position	Description	Illustration
Critical	Concerned to reveal and emancipate leaders and followers from social injustice and the oppression of established power structures.	Ball 1994 Blackmore 1999 Grace 1995 Smyth 1989
Humanistic	Gathers and theorises from the experiences and biographies of those who are leaders and managers.	Day et al. 2000 Gronn 1999 Ribbins 1997 Southworth 1995
Instrumental	Provides leaders with effective <i>hautūtanga/leadership</i> strategies to deliver organisational outcomes	Caldwell and Spinks 1988, 1992, 1998.
Scientific	Abstracts and measures the impact of <i>hautūtanga/leadership</i> effectiveness on organisational outcomes.	Leithwood et al. 1996 Leithwood et al. 1999 Sammons et al. 1997

Table 1. Four main positions in *hautūtanga/leadership* studies (Gunter, 2009, p. 95)

Helen Gunter presents a helpful overview of what she describes as the “four main positions on the *hautūtanga/leadership* in education territory: critical, humanistic, instrumental and scientific” (p. 94). Her *hautūtanga/leadership* stick in the sand is transformational *hautūtanga/leadership* which she describes as a generic and globalised model of *hautūtanga/leadership*. I speculated that transformational leaders were positioned in the “instrumental” and “scientific” domains as leaders with those traits appeared to have achieved much of the policy implementation outlined above. Given my background, upbringing, and *hautūtanga/leadership* experience the paradigm Gunter advocates in Table 1 locates me in the “critical” and “humanistic” domains. This is not surprising given my commitment to both social injustice and servant *hautūtanga/leadership* (Greenleaf, 1970; Sergiovanni, 1996).

Hautūtanga/leadership Binaries

Ackerman and Maslin-Ostrowski (2004) argue that “a leader’s deepest obligation is to engage continually in a reflective process of making sense of his or her *hautūtanga/leadership* and to trust its influence on others and on the school” (p. 6). Gunter’s framework allowed me to do that without becoming overwhelmed by the myriad of claims and counter claims about what *hautūtanga/leadership* was or was not. At the heart of my understanding of *hautūtanga/leadership* was the recognition that it could be interpreted as what Furman (2012) refers to as either a mechanism for social control or a map for social justice. I could see clearly that Gunter’s descriptions of the “critical” and “humanistic” dimensions of *hautūtanga/leadership* resided in the relationships individuals have with each other and both were oriented towards social vision and change. These two dimensions exist in binary opposition (Lévi-Strauss, 2013; Midgley, Tyler, Danaher, & Mander, 2012) to her descriptions of the “instrumental” and “scientific” dimensions of *hautūtanga/leadership* which focus on behaviourist and functional models of *hautūtanga/leadership* that emphasise positivist ontologies and epistemologies.

The Hautūtanga/Leadership Quandary

Before I was confronted with the reality of disparities that existed between Māori and Pākehā student achievement at the Ministry of Education forum in 2009, I believed that all I had to do to be a successful leader was blend successful *hautūtanga/leadership* traits and apply them in different contexts to accommodate the differing needs and expectations of those I led. In hindsight my lack of consciousness around diversity and difference across social and cultural contexts was a significant limiting factor in my approach to *hautūtanga/leadership*. Although I felt I was expected to be all things to all people: charismatic and authentic, adaptive and efficient, transformative while at the same time transactional, there was no expectation that I should do that within a bicultural framework. I did not ever dispute that leaders must have integrity, be honest, motivational, and inspiring. Nor did I disagree that our role was to be innovative, forward thinking, with the requisite knowledge, skills, strategies, resources, and tools to effect positive change and improve the learning outcomes of all students. I had not, however, considered the possibilities bicultural approaches might offer to achieve those laudable goals.

What I did understand on a very personal level, after more than two decades in different *hautūtanga/leadership* roles, was that there were times that employers, employees, and interest groups had unrealistic expectations of the capacities of educational leaders. Effective

hautūtanga/leadership no longer simply meant knowing what to do; or knowing when, how, and why to do it (Waters, Marzano, & McNulty, 2003). Effective hautūtanga/leadership in the 21st century seemed to demand super human qualities combined with an impossible set of hautūtanga/leadership attributes, skills, and personality traits as well as the ability to perform magic, or at the very least achieve the impossible, yesterday. The greatest tension I felt as an educational leader was the lack of practitioners' voices in the discourse on hautūtanga/leadership. The cacophony of voices heard were those of professional academics, professional researchers, professional advisors, political advisors, politicians, and bureaucrats who dominated the discourse, leaving little if any room for those of us who were doing the job in a practical sense. The reality for me as a principal leader was the impossibility of being all things to all people, being expected to perform miraculous feats of magic to ensure positive change, improved learning outcomes of all students, while at the same time working in a practice-based but theoretical vacuum.

Hautūtanga/Leadership Perspectives

This overview of the Westerncentric hautūtanga/leadership literature is juxtaposed with the Māori hautūtanga/leadership research I discovered, which helped me to fill the knowledge gaps I encountered in 2009 around a Māori world view/*te ao Māori* of hautūtanga/leadership. I had always believed that leaders were born not made; not born in the sense that a leader's lineage, pedigree, or class endows them with legitimacy as a leader (Crippen, 2004), and not in the sense of a natural born leader (Blank, W., 2001), but in that sense of an innate ability some leaders have to inspire, encourage, support, and motivate the individuals and groups around them in the best of times and in the worst of times. It seemed to me that born leaders (Johnson et al., 1998), like Sojourner Truth, Emmeline Pankhurst, Mother Teresa, Rosa Parks, Malala Yousafzai, Whina Cooper, Apirana Ngata, Maui Pōmare, Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana, Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Te Puea Herangi all seemed to have lived their hautūtanga/leadership. These individuals did not seek hautūtanga/leadership but rather wore it like a mantle/*korowai* of humanity, humility, vision, and dedication to the care of others.

A born leader has that indefinable sense of careful stewardship (Sergiovanni, 2000), unobtrusive but effective. Described as authentic leaders who, when they step into the light as agents of change (Fullan, 1993), move their communities forward. Bennis (2007) asserts that exemplary leaders have six competencies, they: create a sense of mission, they motivate others to join them on that mission, they create an adaptive social architecture for their followers, they generate trust and optimism, they develop other leaders, and they get results (p.5). For me, a

great leader had the ability to think more critically and reflexively about themselves, their actions, and the situations they found themselves in (Cunliffe, 2009). By employing reflexive practices educational leaders can avoid what Hollander (1995), Wong and Page (2003) each describe as meritocracy, authoritarian hierarchies, egotistic pride, and often-self-serving manipulations of power and control.

Part of my own reflexive journey was accepting that my greatest *hautūtanga/leadership* flaw, indeed my Achilles heel, was my inherent need to be liked and affirmed by those I led. Paradoxically, my passion, vision, and commitment would often overwhelm those around me, or worse, alienate and subsume some colleagues, relegating them to bystanders or spectators within a change process I often dominated. For me, my *hautūtanga/leadership* role created subtle tensions for me between my role as the boss, my constant quest for inclusion as one of the team, my need for professional compliance from my staff, and the relentless requirement to build and maintain often fragile relationships founded on trust. Cunliffe (2009) asserts that the only way leaders can ensure the “we” in *hautūtanga/leadership* is to acknowledge there should be no fixed answers or predetermined *hautūtanga/leadership* blueprints that seek to take the organisation forward in a prearranged manner. Cunliffe (2009) argues there is a need for a constant interrogation of self, as the leader asks those who follow, “what is important? What if we think about organisations, *hautūtanga/leadership*, and ethics in this way rather than that? Where can it take us?” (p. 99).

As I reflected on both my successes and failures as a leader, I recognised my upbringing in the strict environment of a military camp had instilled in me a propensity for autocratic *hautūtanga/leadership* (Bogler, 2001; Eagly, Karau, & Johnson, 1992; Grace 1995; Van Vugt & Hart, 2004). Such *hautūtanga/leadership* can be seen as both a strength and a weakness, depending of the *hautūtanga/leadership* challenge a team faces. It was a sad irony for me when I realised that rather than the “guide of the side,” I had been the “sage of the stage,” a phrase coined by A. King (1993, p. 30). In hindsight I recognised that the robust systems and structures I introduced to build our *hautūtanga/leadership* capacity were not co-constructed in a collaborative environment (Durgahee, 1998; Jennings, 2012). A clear dichotomy underpinned my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice at that time given I articulated the value of and desire for distributed *hautūtanga/leadership*, but I often modelled an authoritarian and autocratic *hautūtanga/leadership* style.

As I continued to reflect on my *hautūtanga/leadership* style I accepted that much of the *mahi/work* we undertook as a school was mandated by the Ministry of Education and focussed on initiatives designed to raise student achievement and engagement and, to enhance teacher effectiveness (Glickman, 2002; Lambert, L., 1998; Leithwood, 2005; Sager 2000). I incorrectly assumed that as the school's educational leader the bar should be set higher for me than for anyone else, that I had to produce greater outputs than anyone else, and that I had to ensure I was never at a loss for the next innovative idea for improvement. This proved to be an unhealthy approach not just for me but for the staff in general. Rather than being a buffer to the effects of workload stress on staff, I added to their stress, alienated myself from many of them, and personally suffered undiagnosed symptoms of burnout (Kozlowski & Doherty 1989).

Leithwood and Jantzi (1990) confirm the need for collaborative approaches when they argue:

School principals who succeeded in their job have used a wide range of mechanisms to motivate and activate their staff to bring about changes in their school culture (p. 663).

It is interesting to note that their emphasis on the “mechanisms” a leader uses to motivate others and bring about change, aligns with my understanding of Gunter's (2009) positioning of *hautūtanga/leadership* within the “Scientific” domain, where it is the impact of a leader's effectiveness on organisational outcomes that are publicly measured.

There is nothing more difficult nor stressful for an educational leader than to manage the complexity of juggling the multiple demands of the role in an increasingly voyeuristic environment. D. King (2002) highlights this complexity when she writes:

Today's instructional leaders function in a constantly changing environment and serve students with greater and more diverse needs than ever before. Yet, they are expected to lead their schools to show marked improvement more quickly with fewer resources at their disposal. They are expected to improve the quality of teachers, maintain safe schools; and turn staffs, parent groups and business partners into communities into communities of learners. Under the watchful eyes of parents

and business communities these leaders are challenged to lead and to learn simultaneously (p. 63).

As a principal leader in AotearoaNew Zealand I constantly faced tensions caused by issues of accountability (Leithwood, 2005; Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008). AotearoaNew Zealand principals are employed by boards of trustees and are required to submit monthly reports to that legislative body. As well, we are required to present an annual report to the Ministry of Education by May of each year. There is also a requirement to report frequently to parents/caregivers, students, and to the school community. In addition to addressing all those significant demands for public accountability, we are also responsible to and for our staff.

I found the significant responsibility of mandatory reporting on teacher effectiveness, using a prescribed appraisal system, often undermined the collegiality necessary in the collaborative learning environment I advocated. I often experienced feelings of conflict and *mōriroriro/cultural alienation* in an environment that demanded high levels of trust from an appraiser and high levels of accountability from a principal with the power to determine attestation. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Review on Evaluation and Assessment Frameworks for Improving School Outcomes (2010) commissioned by the AotearoaNew Zealand Ministry of Education identified this ambivalence, affirming that:

The evidence suggests a need to develop the provision of opportunities for building the capability of school leaders in the effective implementation of teacher appraisal to improve the quality of professional practice and student outcomes (p. 59).

Schools are one of the most politically charged environments for an individual to lead. Added to the complexity is the fact that every teacher is a university graduate, and like the principal, is both trained and expected to lead in their area of expertise. Schools often become sites of political struggle because, contrary to public opinion, they are not populated with a homogenous group of likeminded people. Instead schools are a diverse myriad of living cultures, often with competing philosophies, values, beliefs, and agendas. What galvanises stakeholders in successful schools in this volatile environment is their shared belief that student achievement is the school's highest priority. Conversely, what often fragments them is their

expectations around how best that achievement can be realised. The successful principal is the leader who can address all those competing concerns, build and maintain effective teams, persuade people to give up for a while their selfish pursuits and pursue a common goal (Hogan & Kaiser, 2005). If all that is achieved, then the principal is deemed to have move the institution forward (Piggot-Irvine, 2003).

With the complexity of managing both your time and professionalism as an educational leader it is pivotal to your ultimate success that you know yourself well. Bennis (2007) argues that an, “adaptive capacity or resilience is the single most important quality in a leader” (p. 5). Zaccaro (2007) was also helpful here with his description of three significant aspects he felt were important in that emotionally intelligent space; the disposition of the leader and her/his personality and traits, understanding the behaviours and different roles leaders fulfil, and the specific context that *hautūtanga/leadership* must respond to. I realised the importance of emotional intelligence for an educational leader when building meaningful relationships with those you lead (Goleman, 1998). A key to the success we experienced as we built the *hautūtanga/leadership* capacity at Papatūānuku High School was recognising that it was only with the amplification of the intellectual and professional capital of all staff and celebrating their personal dispositions, personalities, traits, and behaviours, that we could all succeed and grow (Day & Harris, 2002).

When leaders take a strategic approach to *hautūtanga/leadership* development and succession planning, *hautūtanga/leadership* is no longer vested in the principal alone (Leithwood et al., 1999; Leithwood, 2005). My experience reflected Myung, Loeb, and Horng’s (2011) assertion that “principals are capable of effectively identifying and encouraging teachers with strong *hautūtanga/leadership* potential to enter the principal pipeline, although additional training and a succession management plan may help ensure that teachers are selected based on clear *hautūtanga/leadership* competencies.” (p. 696). I implemented a systematic approach to succession planning in 2004, developing systems (regular in-school professional learning meetings), structures (six Houses – mini schools within the school), and onsite professional *hautūtanga/leadership* learning programmes (called Aspiring Principals) to build the *hautūtanga/leadership* capacity (Ogawa & Bossert 1995; Fink & Resnick, 2001; Senge, 2000; Timperley 2005; Zmuda, Kuklis, & Kline, 2004) at Papatūānuku High School.

The results spoke for themselves and saw the institution produce over four years eleven assistant principals (internal promotions), five deputy principals (two internal promotions and

three external promotions), one associate principal (external promotion) and one principal (external promotion). This was a *hautūtanga/leadership* phenomenon, located as it was in an ordinary state funded secondary school in AotearoaNew Zealand, and was something I was proud of as the school's educational leader. Perhaps pride does come before a fall after all. One key element that was missing in this successful *hautūtanga/leadership* incubator however was any recognition or inclusion of Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* *hautūtanga/leadership* development.

SECTION 7 Understandings of Bicultural *Hautūtanga/leadership*

I was eleven years old when I was first confronted by an injustice, I was powerless to challenge and since that time, I have been trying to make sense of my world. I did not realise that the Pākehā understandings, rituals, rights, values, expectations, and taboos that I carried with me from my childhood into adulthood were not shared and universal in the country of my birth. Because of the dominance of my white middle-class values I found I could not readily articulate the impact that such a cultural predilection had on Māori students and their achievement at Papatūānuku High School. My experience of Māori issues in education had been characterised by tensions and contradiction (Hemara, 2000) where the default position was always Māori failure. As I began to familiarise myself with the *hautūtanga/leadership* literature I felt uncomfortable at what I felt were Westerncentric imperatives of success and achievement that clearly undermined and separated Māori students' culture from the education imposed upon them (Hook, 2006). My role as an educational leader was changing and evolving as I sought solutions to address the needs of Māori learners whose culture was suffused with an inner cultural wisdom, intuition, and sense of self (Whitinui, 2011). I began to realise that if change were to occur, that it had to start with me and not with the Māori students who attended Papatūānuku High School.

It was at that point I realised if I was to change my *hautūtanga/leadership* practices to accommodate bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* practices I would need to be able to clearly articulate my understanding of the term biculturalism. I have discussed above that as a Pākehā, a principal and an educational leader in AotearoaNew Zealand I had been heavily influenced by hierarchy, individualism, competition, independence, personal responsibility/culpability, and meritocracy (Chong & Thomas, D. C., 1997; Hofstede, 1980; Smith, P. B., Dugan, & Trompenaars, 1996). In formulating my own definition of biculturalism, I was assisted by Sullivan (1994) who asserts a Māori and Non-Māori/*tauiwi* relationship:

includes all non-Māori relationships, be they of English, Dutch, Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan, Niuean, Chinese, Indian or other descent. This interpretation of biculturalism acknowledges the rights of indigenous Māori/*tangata whenua* and also includes all non-Pākehā AotearoaNew Zealanders in this important relationship (p. 200).

As I became more comfortable with the challenges *hautūtanga/leadership* in a bicultural setting presented me I began to explore pedagogies that did not naturally default to Pākehā approaches and recognised Māori habitus (Adams, M., 2006; Fitzpatrick, 2013; France & Roberts, 2017).

Hautūtanga/Leadership Repositioning

I began searching for literature that would assist me to broaden my *hautūtanga/leadership* thinking. The first shift in my thinking came after reading the New Zealand Ministry of Education Report *School Leadership and Student Outcomes: Identifying What Works and Why* (Robinson et al., 2009). The publication provided the reader with an iteration of current research detailing the impact school *hautūtanga/leadership* has on bringing about sustainable improvements in student achievement (Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2007; Robinson et al., 2008). Descriptions of the knowledge, skills, and dispositions school leaders needed in order to be effective leaders and the identification of the dimensions of school *hautūtanga/leadership* that made a tangible difference for student success at school provided new insights for me as a Pākehā educator (Levin & Fullan, 2009). One of the main research goals that had underpinned the Ministry of Education project had been to foster bicultural approaches to *hautūtanga/leadership* and the development of communities of practice within and beyond the school (Wenger, 1998). The document purported to offer *hautūtanga/leadership* strategies that resonated with Māori perspectives (Hohepa & Robson, 2008) and to challenge practices which interfered with Māori students' learning and achievement.

The second publication I found compelling was the 2007 revised edition of the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework*. The revised document replaced the Essential Learning Areas with five key competencies it was argued students would be needed in the 21st century. The pedagogical implications for Māori of the inclusion of the five key competencies was significant because they closely reflected the values, beliefs, and preferred practices that represent and embody an indigenous *te ao Māori/Māori worldview*. The *New Zealand*

Curriculum Framework created a portal for change from a focus on Pākehā methods of instruction to bicultural approaches to *ako/learning* that embraced *manaakitanga/moral purpose* and *pono/self-belief*, and both guided and *awhinatanga/supported others* (Bishop & Glynn, 2003). The Government's explicit intention when implementing the new Curriculum Framework was to effect positive change for Māori students within the AotearoaNew Zealand education system. With the advantage of hindsight ten years on, this panacea of curriculum reform has not developed the significant improvements promised.

The third document I found helpful in re-evaluating my *hautūtanga/leadership* approaches was the publication *Kiwi Hautūtanga/leadership for Principals: Principals as Educational Leaders* (Ministry of Education, 2008). The document was published following an extensive process of collaborative consultation with representatives of secondary and secondary school principals, *hautūtanga/leadership* advisors, researchers, and teacher unions. The document identified three core sets of practices that would assist leaders to set directions, develop people, and redesign the organisation (Leithwood et al., 2004), and it also placed educational *hautūtanga/leadership* at the centre of successful learning and teaching. During the consultative phase Māori and Pasifika students were a focus for professionals in the field who repeatedly expressed their concern at the large numbers who were not achieving to their potential within the current education system. Their concern also extended to the numbers who were leaving school without the level of qualifications needed to succeed in life. The document challenged the rhetoric of deficit thinking often present when analysing Māori student achievement by advocating collaborative practices to improve educational and social outcomes for all students.

As with all government initiatives educational leaders have helped to implement there has always been a time lag between what is promised and any evaluation of the success of the initiative. Although these three publications were a useful beginning point in helping me to begin a repositioning of my *hautūtanga/leadership* thinking I feel, with the luxury of hindsight, their authorial focus was on the material conditions rather than any fundamental structural change at an ideological level. Such an omission works to reinforce the dominant hegemonic power structures that have historically precluded any sharing of power in our education decision making processes (Smith, G. H., 2012). As a Pākehā educator I felt complicit in an education system that seem saturated in Westerncentric imperatives of power, control, and hegemonic domination (Dussel, 2000). As I began to explore the writing of contemporary indigenous AotearoaNew Zealand researchers I was confronted by detailed discussions about the social,

cultural, and economic disadvantages Māori had suffered over the past one hundred and fifty years. I began to see the realities of the damage done to Māori students as a result of the prevalence of deficit assumptions that underpinned mainstream educational theory and practice (Durie, M. H., 2003). Pihama and Penhira (2005) articulate anxieties such as mine when they argue that:

within deficit theorising the home environment and family background became the focus by which to explain differences in school achievement and underachievement, providing the framework through which to categorise children's achievement levels. The categorising of children in such a way allowed for the development of the conceptualisation of those groups of children designated as "underachievers" as being "culturally disadvantaged" or "culturally deprived" (p. 21).

I felt a deep sense of shame that I had been oblivious to the inherently racist rhetoric and deficit thinking that demeaned and degraded Māori students and their *whānau/families* in our education system.

I began to search out key themes around Māori students' cultural location at school (Hynds et al., 2011) and discovered writing that talked about the marginalisation they regularly felt in mainstream/English medium settings (Bishop et al., 2003). Often the writing spoke to me of the *mōriroriro/isolation*, *mōriroriro/cultural alienation*, *riwha/invisibility*, and a lack of *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination* participants may have felt as they reconciled the ignorance many Pākehā exhibited regarding a *te ao Māori/Māori world view*. Participants commented that many Pākehā were oblivious to the Māori values, beliefs, principles and preferred practices which embodied the *tikanga/ customary system of values and practices* they had grown up with and that defined them as indigenous peoples. A.H. Macfarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, and Bateman (2008), encapsulate those views explaining:

a Māori worldview is characterized by an abiding concern for the quality of human relationships that need to be established and maintained if learning contexts are to be effective for Māori students, and for these relationships to balance individual learning and achievement against responsibilities for the well-being and achievement of the group (p. 102).

I recalibrated my *hautūtanga/leadership* thinking about culturally safe schools (Macfarlane, A. H. et al., 2007), realising that to be safe at school meant more than just the avoidance of risk or the prevention of physical and emotional bullying of Māori students. I reflected on the need for cultural safety as well.

I began to unpick what authentic bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* might look like if it was underpinned by that commitment to culturally safe environments that celebrated all things Māori, beginning with Mead (2003), who asserts that “the mark of *hautūtanga/leadership* success for a Māori is providing *hautūtanga/leadership* based on traditional principles while managing the interface” (p. 14). For me the concept of interface (Nakata, M., 2007; Martin, Nakata, V., Nakata, M., & Day, 2017) challenged me to think about the relationships I cultivated with Māori students and their *whānau/families* in the context of school. I reflected on whether I had negotiated those relationships or whether within that space I unconsciously defaulted to a dominant cultural paradigm that served my own interests first. M. Nakata (2007) cautions that:

in this space are histories, politics, economics, multiple and interconnected discourses, social practices and knowledge technologies which condition how we all come to look at the world, how we come to know and understand our changing realities in the everyday, and how and what knowledge we operationalise in our daily lives (p. 9).

As I grappled with the complexities of successful *hautūtanga/leadership* for me it occurred to me that I had only ever discussed the concept of *hautūtanga/leadership* with other Pākehā leaders and only ever from a Pākehā perspective. Kelly, Jackson, and Henare (2014) helped me to understand that unlike Pākehā leaders, Māori leaders:

carry their genealogies of leadership into the work they do and how they conduct themselves professionally ... [and] consciously engage in creating, continuing and shaping their leadership genealogies and how ancestral leadership informs their ethical and value-driven conduct as a person (p. 4).

Kelly, Jackson, and Henare's explanation of the principles surrounding *Ngā Kete e Toru o te Wānanga – The Three Baskets of Knowledge* offered me a helpful insight into the epistemological and ontological understandings of te ao Māori/*Māori world view*, that had until this study been invisible to me. They posit that each basket represents a different understanding of the multidimensional flow of knowledge in Māori terms. Te Kete Aronui/*the first basket* contains knowledge of what we see and stimulates our sensory experiences; Te Kete Tuāuri/*the second basket*, contains knowledge of the world around us, and Te Kete Tūātea/*the third basket*, contains esoteric knowledge of the spirit world, often expressed through myth, legend or ritual.

The work of Chen and Miller (2010) expanded my understanding further by introducing me to the concept of the ambicultural leader who displays a profound understanding of the richness of blended models of governance, *hautūtanga/leadership*, and administration. It is their view that ambicultural leaders function within two autonomous but connected cultures simultaneously and intuitively select *hautūtanga/leadership* attributes that are most appropriate to the cultural context. In a kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* sense of *hautūtanga/leadership* ambicultural leaders are inclusive leaders (Barnes A., 2004), who seamlessly blend philosophical beliefs and *tikanga/social practices* (Henry & Pene, 2001) with Pākehā philosophies and social practices defined as cultural mores. Bishop (1996) expands the idea of philosophy and *tikanga/social practices* as being inseparable from the Māori psyche, explaining:

we know that there is a way of knowing, that is different from that which was taught to those colonised into the western way of thought. We know about a way that is born of time, connectedness, kinship, commitment, and participation (p. 157).

What I was learning was that successful bicultural leaders were able to distil the complexity of successful *hautūtanga/leadership* traits into meta-*hautūtanga/leadership* behaviours (Sarros, A. M., & Sarros, J. C., 2007) and integrate their inherent *hautūtanga/leadership* traits with learned *hautūtanga/leadership* traits in order to best serve the requirements of the *hautūtanga/leadership* contexts they found themselves in (Jester & Fickel, 2013).

I did not interpret bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* as me suddenly having to be pseudo Māori, which would have been culturally insensitive, inappropriate and yet another

appropriation or form of colonisation of Māori identity. My *hautūtanga/leadership* metamorphosis can be summed up by Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016), who describe such a metamorphosis as a “transformative realisation of *hautūtanga/leadership* development that accepts alternative ontologies, epistemologies and worldviews, providing for richer and more meaningful understanding of *hautūtanga/leadership* for the 21st century” (p. 309). I began to concentrate in a very deliberate way on developing relationships with Māori students and their *whānau/families* that emphasised partnership based on positive, respectful and trusting relationships. My goal was to constantly and publicly reinforce the importance for Māori students that they are able to be themselves at school, and, just as importantly for them and their *whānau/families*, to trust that I would be myself.

Although it was easy to make public changes to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practices, for example incorporating *te reo Māori/ Māori language* into my day-to-day practice, I began to make conscious changes to my *hautūtanga/leadership* style now that I realised how important behind-the-scenes *hautūtanga/leadership* (Bevan-Brown, 1993) was to Māori students in providing them emotional support, guidance, and inspiration. I began to model the behaviours the literature described that placed Māori student achievement at the forefront of best *hautūtanga/leadership* practice (Bidois, 2012; Hynds et al, 2011; Robinson et al., 2009). I began to see the value of the principal paying *whakarangatira/respect* to *taha Māori/things Māori*. I was encouraged when Māori students celebrated my overt attempts to embrace *te reo Māori/Māori language* in assemblies, often laughing kind-heartedly and offering *awhi/support* when I made embarrassing mistakes. I ensured through my actions (attending field trips to *Manu Korero/national speech competition*) and deeds (participation in *kapahaka practice/cultural group practices*) that Māori students would believe my relationships with them were an important priority for me (Savage, Macfarlane, S., Macfarlane, A. H., Fickel, & Te Hēmi, 2014). I wanted to ensure that they recognised I was genuinely proud of them when they expressed themselves as Māori (Hawk, Cowley, Hill, J., & Sutherland, 2002) and not just when they performed well for the school in rugby, netball, *kapahaka/cultural activities* or during *powhiri/formal welcome protocols*.

There were three other documents that assisted me to view *hautūtanga/leadership* from a uniquely AotearoaNew Zealand perspective. The first is a memorandum of understanding which relates specifically to schools in the *rohe pōtae/Ngāi Tahu tribal territory*, located in *Te Kete o Aoraki /South Island* of AotearoaNew Zealand (Hayes & Clode, 2012). This document offers a fresh perspective from a Māori world view/*te ao Māori* and provides educational

leaders located in the *rohe pōtae/tribal territory* with the overarching intention and expectations of te iwi/Ngāi Tahu in relation to the educational achievement of their tamariki/children. The second document was *Te Kotahitanga* (Bishop, 2003a) a professional learning programme introduced into schools in 2006 (Bishop et al., 2007). The aim of *Te Kotahitanga* was to work with educational leaders to address the disparities and close the gap between Māori and Pākehā students' achievement. *Te Kotahitanga* received the penultimate award for innovation in educational research at the World Innovation Summit for Excellence in Qatar in October 2013

The final piece of research I wish to mention that was specific to AotearoaNew Zealand educational leaders was, *He Kākano – Growing Culturally Responsive Hautūtanga/leadership* (Hynds et al., 2013). *He Kākano* grew out of *Te Kotahitanga* and focus explicitly on building school culture, improving culturally responsive *hautūtanga/leadership* and teacher practices and developing school leaders who are argentic agents of change, relational and pedagogical leaders who will introduce educational, social and cultural conditions necessary for Maori students to achieve as Māori (Chant, 2011; Hynds, Averill, Hindle, & Meyer, 2016).

SECTION 8 Summary

In Chapter 2 I provided an insight into my experiences as a child that shaped my understandings of *hautūtanga/leadership*. My nomadic journey thus far had traversed painful personal experiences, including the death of my, when I learned the true cost of selfless *hautūtanga/leadership*. As well I negotiated newly discovered literature that exposed *hautūtanga/leadership* as a contestable cultural construct. I reviewed the literature that had informed my professional learning as I grew into my *hautūtanga/leadership* role and finally I grappled with new knowledge and understandings in the literature written by established and emerging AotearoaNew Zealand researchers that provided me with new insights and perspective around what it means to lead biculturally. I conclude this chapter with my musings around the idea that *hautūtanga/leadership* is a mosaic of capabilities and the best leaders are those who create shared spaces in which to lead, and who adopt capabilities depending on the needs of those who follow them in those spaces. I have only scratched the surface of the important research that has been undertaken internationally and in AotearoaNew Zealand in the area of educational *hautūtanga/leadership* over the past three decades.

My explanation of the paradigm shift in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system, from a competitive to a collaborative approach provided insights into a move away from

neoliberalist imperatives (Connell, 2013) that underpinned the commodification of education provision to a more liberal approach that demands equity in educational opportunity for all AotearoaNew Zealand students (Bevan-Brown, 2003). As an autoethnography this thesis demands self-reflective honesty. I have used the literature included in this chapter to assist me to personalise this journey as I worked to overcome the significant crisis of confidence I experienced as an experienced educational leader (Day, Hadfield, & Harris, 1999). The literature helped me to fill the gaps and address the superficial understandings I had identified in my *hautūtanga/leadership* knowledge of *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies that resonated with and supported Māori students to achieve within a Pākehā mainstream medium.

My own attempts to define *hautūtanga/leadership* illustrated how diverse and contested *hautūtanga/leadership* is as a concept. I used the work of Gunter (2009) to corral the competing definitions of *hautūtanga/leadership* and position myself within the *hautūtanga/leadership* discourse. Having located myself in the critical, humanistic sphere of *hautūtanga/leadership* (Gunter, 2009), I discussed how I confronted the personal challenge I faced as an educational leader when faced with meeting the needs of Māori students and their *whānau/families* at Papatūānuku High School. As I engaged more and more with the literature on *hautūtanga/leadership* I was able to confront the enormity of the challenge straddling Westerncentric and Māoricentric paradigms of *hautūtanga/leadership* would be for me (Hapeta & Palmer, 2014). I faced yet another crisis, but this time a crisis of courage, or the lack of courage I felt when confronting my own inadequacies as a leader. Initially I wondered how I could possibly undertake this research project. It was only after discovering the plethora of literature that explored practice-based, insider research and effective *hautūtanga/leadership* did I begin to see a way forward. It was the significant work of Bishop and Berryman (2010) that opened my eyes to the realities of the importance of *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies that focussed on Māori. As a nonindigenous researcher, from the colonising, dominant cultural group in AotearoaNew Zealand I realised the importance of bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* practices (Javidan et al., 2006; Lakshman, 2013) to improving the educational outcomes of Māori students.

In exploring the *hautūtanga/leadership* literature, I saw little merit in simply listing the attributes, traits, and personalities of a so-called successful leader. Instead, my contribution here is the provision of a useful backdrop to the educational *hautūtanga/leadership* landscape and then an accentuated foregrounding of *hautūtanga/leadership* paradigms that adopt the best of both cultural world views. Such an approach has the potential to equip educational leaders to

lead with mana/*pride*, strong in their own hautūtanga/*leadership* identity, and linked to the students and the community they lead. Such hautūtanga/*leadership* creates a shared space, firm tūrangawaewae/*ground* and strong whakawhanaunga/*relationships* where shared knowledge/*mātauranga ā-iwi* supports shared and distributed hautūtanga/*leadership*.

I looked to Day, Harris, Hadfield, Tolley, & Beresford (2000) to close this chapter with what I was coming to recognise as a universal truth when they argue, “leadership is a complex, messy and at times, wholly nonrational activity that is value laden and value driven” (p. 29). It is by engaging with that complexity and accepting we have a place in this “mess” that the best leaders will emerge.

Kua takoto te manuka
The leaves of the manuka tree have been laid down

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

SECTION 1 A Personal Memoir

Yes, it's as simple as that!
[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:130624]

I throw my hands up in despair and look at the roof, biting my tongue so as not to send back a stinging retort. No, I am far too in awe of Elaine to ever articulate a criticism.

"You've made yet another assumption" Elaine kindly explains in her quiet yet resolute way. She watches me closely as I struggle with her constructive criticism. As principal of a very large secondary school it is not often in my working day that someone can pull me up, challenge me, call me out on what I might say or do. To be honest it is very rare indeed for anyone to test my assumptions or opinions, I am, after all the "boss." Not Elaine though, she is fearless, tenacious and most importantly brutally honest. It is what all good researchers need – but don't necessarily want, a mentor who can constantly challenge their thinking.

"What you might like to consider" she continues relentlessly "is thinking about, thinking about new ways of thinking." She waits patiently while I assimilate this suggestion into my existing hautūtanga/leadership schema.

I sigh in frustration, "What you probably can't understand Elaine ... what you possibly have no idea about, is how close I am to giving up; how difficult I am finding this constant interrogation of self ... this relentless internal challenge to my way of thinking, acting, engaging and most importantly leading". I am silent for a time as Elaine sits patiently waiting.

"It's like an unravelling of the essence of me", I finally say.

Elaine looks a little taken aback, and so I press on, intent on explaining to her just how difficult this is.

"I often drive home in tears, gnashing my teeth and raging at the injustice of it all" I explain. "Here I am a successful educational leader, running a large and successful school, and the more I engage with this work the more I feel like a fraud and a failure!" I pause for dramatic effect, as I know that I am being a little irrational and perhaps just a wee bit precious.

I press on saying “I feel like I am being expected to change my hautūtanga/leadership style and practice, which up until this point has been pretty successful if I may say so”

I pause and take a breath, “and if I am honest with you Elaine, I feel like I am having to do this to accommodate the vagaries of others”. I finish with a bit of a half-hearted flourish, not really convinced of my own conviction here. Elaine looks thoughtful and considers what I have said. As always, she is patient and waits expectantly as she can sense I haven’t gotten all of this off my chest.

“Elaine,” I say, encouraged by her generous silence, “Can’t you see I am cringing here, can’t you see my cheeks aflame with embarrassment?” I stop for a moment to gather my thoughts, and then continue, “I came to this research project two years ago, brimming with confidence basking in the glory of my own success and truly believing that I had this hautūtanga/leadership “thing” covered and now after nearly two years I feel like I know less than when I started, and I am questioning my ability to lead effectively at all!”

There is silence, the well-crafted silence that Elaine is so practiced at achieving when demanding that you think for yourself. As my mind wanders off into the wasteland of personal injustice and perceived persecution Elaine calls me back to the moment and presses me further.

“The changes I am tempting you toward,” she says, “are massive but at the same time they are tiny – they are massive because you have to challenge some very fundamental assumptions, but they are tiny in that the great majority of things you think, say and do are just superb. You do listen well, you do respect people, and you do make wise decisions.

She pauses while I take this in and then she continues, “We want the kind of thinking that brings about positive change”. She waits quietly while I get myself back together and then asks, “What are you curious about, what do you want to know about hautūtanga/leadership that you don’t already know?”

“Well that’s easy” I respond, feeling on slightly firmer ground, “I want to know how I can lead to support Māori achieving success as Māori”. Elaine smiles kindly and says, “then that is what you should think about and that is what you should write about”.

I feel a little uncomfortable”, I add, “almost a little self-indulgent, you know, writing about myself”.

Elaine raises her eyebrows and I quickly qualify my comment saying, “I know we have talked about the idea of self-study and using memoir as a vehicle for critical analysis of my own experiences, but I can’t quite see how that could be done, and I also feel it would be self-indulgent.”

“Don’t you remember,” interrupted Elaine “when Letitia, Helen, you, and I talked about the legitimacy of self-study and the difference between work ‘saturated in self’ and work that was truly critical analysis of your own experiences?”

I nod, “Yes,” I say, “you recommended that I read Lyons and LaBoskey (2002), because they wrote about narrative inquiry, arguing that it is socially and contextually situated.”

Elaine nods enthusiastically “Yes” she replies, “Your writing should make sense to you as the insider and should make sense to outsiders who are interested in understanding your world and its implications”.

“Stop, stop,” I sigh, “the idea of who can be interested in reading about my hautūtanga/leadership journey is also a little daunting.”

“What do you mean?” Elaine asks, genuinely surprised at my hesitancy.

“Well,” I muse, carefully choosing my words, “can my work resonate with other school principals, with parents or Boards of Trustees, with other academics; and most importantly with Māori?”

We both sit quietly for a few moments contemplating just what this means, could mean, for the study.

“I am conscious” I say, “that it is a sense of audience that sits behind my writing, even if, as you say Elaine, I should write for myself initially”.

Elaine nods again but remains silent. I get the idea that she is thinking that I might just be making some good connections here. Finally, I venture to say, “narrative inquiry has real potential for me, I think it could be an exciting methodology, as it can provide me with an opportunity to interrogate my experiences, to probe beneath the surface of my day-to-day work, and to gain an understanding of how things happen and why they happen as they do”.

Elaine nods and replies “what could be very powerful here is the opportunity you have to examine the interrelations between yourself and your practice”.

“So” I say to her, carefully framing my thoughts, “this could be a journey of self, an inquiry into both my professional learning as a principal, who wants to investigate, and better understand my day-to-day hautūtanga/leadership practices and their impact on the educational outcomes of Māori students; and as a

researcher who wants to explore that phenomenon.” Elaine laughs, “Yes.” she replies, “it’s as simple as that!”

SECTION 2 Theoretical framework

The Research Nomad Sets Off

This chapter examines how I fashioned a research methodology (Hamilton, Smith, L., & Worthington, 2008) that would embrace my journey of self-discovery as I searched for new ways of leading. The chapter is the engine room of this thesis and outlines the theoretical framework I built to accommodate this esoteric journey of self-discovery. My conversation with Elaine in June 2013 haunted me for nearly two months as I reflected on the personal and professional implications of making changes to my *hautūtanga/leadership* style when what I was doing was working well. The adage, “if it isn’t broken, don’t fix it”, dominated my thinking and conversations with colleagues over that time. However, when I was challenged by the results of a review of our student achievement data for the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) in 2009 and saw the reality of the disparities in achievement between our Māori and Pākehā students I resolved to make improving Māori achievement a primary focus for the school’s annual planning. It had been personally confronting to realise I did not have a deep understanding of *te ao Māori/the Māori world*. Nor I could not draw upon a comprehensive comparative knowledge base because such knowledge was so far from my field of experience and expertise. So, in 2010 I began my nomadic odyssey and over the next year discovered the plethora of literature that explored historical and contemporary aspects of Māori education over the past 150 years (Barnes, A., 2004; Kukutai, 2011; Smith, G. H., 2000; Smith, L. T., 2013).

Section 2 extends my metaphor of the research nomad and allowed me to utilise my strengths as both writer and researcher. Like all preparation for a journey I had things to pack as I prepared to embark on my journey however Nomads travel light and so this methodology was designed to collect the things I would need along the way. Initially all I packed into my intellectual knapsack was everything I already knew about *hautūtanga/leadership* capacity (Fullan, 2003; Hargreaves & Fink, 2006, 2012; Lambert, L., 1998; Senge, 1990; Sergiovanni, 1996). I set goals, formulated questions, defined the field and instead of selecting participants allowed them to find me as I walked the pathway. I grappled with the fact that I was not an indigenous researcher and sought ways to resolve that conundrum. In Section 3 I describe my

approach to the collection of data and the effort I made to ensure that my methodology gave voice not only to me as the subject of the study but to all the other participants as well. I discuss how the need to accommodate multiple voices led me to the concept of bricolage and the flexibility such an approach offered this research study. Employing multiple methods allowed me to use self-study research (Bullough & Pinnegar, 2001; LaBoskey, 2004b) which helped me to theorise, evaluate, and make improvements to my own *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies as an insider (Mercer, 2007) and a practice-based research (Furlong & Oancea, 2005) that allowed me to listen to and collect anecdotes from participants during the normal course of my school day. Section 4 looks at my approach to data analysis and my development of a coherent hybrid that would accommodate the multiple methods research approach I was using. I discussed the challenge of the constant interrogation of self that is required and my development of the interrogation toolkit. As well the need for the invention of the tripartite analytical framework to assisted me to drill down into the data and critically reflect. The models I developed ensured a transparent and systematic process for the generation of grounded theory and emphasised the connectivity between each of the methodologies I employed. Section 5 examines the ethical issues surrounding the principal of a state secondary school conducting autoethnographic, practice-based, insider research at her own school. Security, safety and duty of care for all participants was discussed as well as measures taken for the preservation of anonymity where that was requested by participants. Four of the five participants finally chosen for inclusion in the published nonfiction narratives gave permission for their stories to be told and did not require their identities to be anonymous. The fifth participant was a fictional construct and embodied the qualities of more than one person involved in the events recorded. Finally, Section 6 brings together all the ideas explored in the chapter and challenges the reader to explore further as new theories connect with practice in the search for new knowledge.

I Don't Know What I Don't Know

Research Goals

I had two research goals in mind as I began this research journey: the first was to raise the achievement of our Māori students and the second goal was to improve and enhance my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice to better meet the needs of Māori students. I decided not to employ a positivist approach (Dantley, 2002; Ormston, Spencer, Barnard, & Snape, 2014) for two reasons, firstly because I was undertaking self-study and did not see the need to conduct experiments, or undertake surveys, nor employ quantitative data analysis to assist me to draw meaning from my observations. Secondly, while I was the focus of my study, I was not working

in isolation nor in a vacuum. I still had to work collaboratively with staff, the group of Māori students who were also participants, and with their whānau/families when required.

I decided, therefore, to use a constructivist approach (Gash, 2014; Ocak, G et al, 2016) which allowed me to engage in active learning, focussed on my day-to-day work as the principal of Papatūānuku High School. Such an approach created the flexibility to assimilate new knowledge and posit grounded theory concerning what successful *hautūtanga/leadership* could look like when it focussed on equity for Māori. My research journey challenged me to explore the changes I made and the changes I experienced as an educational leader (Darling-Hammond & Sykes, 1999), as I searched for and developed *hautūtanga/leadership* models that allowed Māori to achieve as Māori.

Research Questions

In formulating research questions, I reflected on my deep-rooted understandings of *hautūtanga/leadership* and how I had applied these principles to my *hautūtanga/leadership* role. I began to realise that there were significant gaps in my knowledge of *hautūtanga/leadership* practices that resonated with Māori. I was curious about Māori *hautūtanga/leadership* and what it looked like in settings that celebrated tikanga Māori/*Māori customs, protocols and procedures*. I pondered the idea of adopting bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* practices and wondered if doing so would make Māori students and their whānau/families feel more valued and included in their school. I wondered if I adopted *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies that were culturally appropriate and resonated with Māori students, there would be a corresponding improvement in their educational achievement and enjoyment of school. I was interested in exploring *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies that deliberately supported Māori enjoying and achieving educational success as Māori (Bishop & Berryman, 2010; Goren, 2009). I was motivated by a desire to make sense of some inconsistencies I had observed Māori students experiencing at school, and I wanted to know what, if any, part I played in perpetuating those inconsistencies. I believed I was a successful leader but accepted that I was also a product of Westerncentric indoctrination when it came to *hautūtanga/leadership* practices in my day-to-day life as a principal. My research focus turned to bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* practices and what they would look like if they truly assisted school leaders to engage in authentic *hautūtanga/leadership*, *hautūtanga/leadership* designed to value Māori students as AotearoaNew Zealand's indigenous people/*tangata whenua* and to overtly raise their achievement levels at all levels.

My reflections helped me to frame my primary research question:

What do *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies that are culturally appropriate and resonate with Māori students look like and if adopted by Pākehā leaders would there be a corresponding improvement in Māori educational achievement and enjoyment of school?

The supplementary questions that piqued my interest were:

How does my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice perpetuate hegemonic ideologies and impose a Pākehā worldview on Māori students?

How do my existing *hautūtanga/leadership* practices inhibit Māori student achievement at Papatūānuku High School?

What conscious changes should I make to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice to accommodate a *te ao Māori/Māori world view*?

The Research Setting

I began this research study when I held the position of principal at a co-educational state secondary school located in a rural community in AotearoaNew Zealand.^{iv} The school's student roll sat at 1,756 and we employed 186 staff. Our ethnic composition included 82% New Zealand European/Pākehā, 10% Māori, 3% Asian, 3% Pasifika and 2% of students classified as Other. Of the 10% of Māori students who attended Papatūānuku High School in 2010 only 4% were of Ngai Tahu descent. Ngai Tahu are the dominant tribe/iwi in the South Island of New Zealand and are considered the local people/tangata whenua. The 6% of Māori students who were not of Ngai Tahu descent are considered visitors/manuhiri to the area, as they are affiliated to other iwi around the country.

Entering the Field

I decided to undertake practice-based research (Murray & Lawrence, 2000) in my own school. As an insider researcher (Asselin, 2003; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), I was aware that there would be certain challenges, both practical and ethical, in working so closely with my staff and our students. I began my research in 2009, but due to a significant earthquake in Canterbury in 2010 I had to begin again. My first step was to seek ethical approval from the University of Canterbury, School of Education Ethics Committee. I then sought permission from my board

of trustees, the Christchurch Office of the Ministry of Education, and the participants and in the case of student participants their whānau/family. As outlined above one significant omission at this stage of the research process was not seeking permission from Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga Education Committee, the local iwi/tribe.

Negotiating the Research Space

After recognising that initial error, I initiated a conversation with one of the respected female elders/kuia from our local rūnanga/tribal authority. I came to understand that as a Pākehā/nonindigenous researcher, (Berryman et al., 2013; Bishop, 1999; Katene, 2010; Olsen, 2017; Pihama et al., 2002), I needed to address possible criticism that I had privileged my own voice by including self-study in my methodology. To moderate the possibility of such privileging (Cunliffe, 2003) I adopted a Kaupapa Māori/Māori principles research methodology (Macfarlane, A. H. et al., 2007) reasoning that as an integrated research process any unintentional Westerncentric perspectives could be mitigated through the collaborative process I employed. In short, I expected my thinking to be challenged openly by participants and by integrating Māori cultural practices into the methodology the participants and I had to negotiate mutually respectful and affirming ways of working together (Bishop, 1998).

Participants

All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely
players; they have their exits and their entrances, and one man
in his time plays many parts.

As You Like It (II: vii)

Subject

While this research study was an autoethnographic self-study I found myself but one of many players on the research stage. The study commenced when I was 51 years old and by way of background, I am a European/Pākehā and was born in Wellington/Werengitana. I was the third of three daughters in a middle class, military family and attended a single-sex, state secondary school. When I left school at the age of 17 in 1977, I took a year off from study, met and married my husband Donald and had the first of our two daughters in 1979. I entered Palmerston North Teachers College in January 1979. My first daughter, Emma was born at the end of my first year and attended Teachers College and Massey University with me until I graduated in 1981. I began my teaching career at the age of 22 and was appointed as a secondary school principal at the age of 45.

Participants

There were 60 Māori participants in the study. The four participants whose nonfiction are shared in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 8 were willing to make public their shared anecdotes about incidents that had negatively affected, unsettled or disturbed them in the Pākehā education system.

Group One Students

Fifty-Eight Papatūānuku High School students (26 male and 31 female). These students ranged in age from twelve years-old (Year 9) to seventeen years-old (Year 12). I encountered each of these participants in the normal course of my day-to-day practice as the principal of Papatūānuku High School, during the first year of the study. They shared their anecdotes with me about events at school that had unsettled, upset or disturbed them. They agreed to participate in the study when I asked if I could record their anecdotes and use them as data in my research.

Group Two Students

Two female students (Year 11, Year 12). These two students were members of Group One. They agreed to having their anecdotes and nonfiction narratives available for publication. I selected their nonfiction narratives because they encapsulated the themes of Ahurea Tuakiri/*identity* and Ātetenga/*resistance* and isolation respectively.

Group Three Community

Parent (female – in her early forties). This participant was the mother of a bilingual male Māori student in Year 12 at Papatūānuku High School. He was not one of the Group One participants. I selected her nonfiction narrative because it encapsulated the theme of Tino rangatiratanga/*self-determination*.

Board of Trustees Member (From a sister school. This participant was female and was a highly regarded elder/*kuia*, in her late seventies). I selected her nonfiction narrative because it encapsulated the theme of Mātauranga Māori/*Māori knowledge - the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices*.

Group Four Teaching Staff

One teaching staff member (Year 3 - Limited Authority to Teach, New Zealand Teachers Council. Male Māori - early thirties). This participant was of Ngāi Tūāhuriri decent, fluent in both Māori and English, and an Old-Boy^v of the school. I selected his nonfiction narrative because it encapsulated the theme of mōriroriro/cultural alienation.

Control Over the Research

When nonindigenous researchers conduct research involving indigenous participants, great care must be taken during the research design phase to ensure that explicit systems for power-sharing are developed collaboratively (Denzin, 2007; Smith, L. T., 2013; Wepa, 2003). By design, this research study involved all participants in the interrogation of cultural knowledge, values, customs, and ideas expressed through personal experiences shared as anecdotes. I encouraged participants to view their anecdotes as data and as well I reiterated that their experiences, opinions, and ideas would be collected, recorded, and analysed as they emerged from that data (Getty, 2010).

I deliberately adopted aspects of a kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* research approach to make explicit the integral importance of and value to the research of the participants' cultural knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values. Mead (2003) argues:

Processes, procedures and consultation need to be correct so that in the end everyone who is connected with the research project is enriched, empowered, enlightened and glad to have been a part of it (p. 318).

In my discussion of *Dimension 7* below I acknowledge that as a nonindigenous researcher my approach may be challenged because aspects of the Māori world/*te ao Māori* would always elude me because of my Pākehā ethnicity. Adopting aspects of Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* research approaches was my attempt to explore my own feelings, thoughts, and dilemmas in a culturally safe and sensitive research, which aimed to respect and nurture the unique ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* of all Māori participants. I wanted to change aspects of my hautūtanga/*leadership* practice to better accommodate the expectations, aspirations, and aims of Māori students (Durie, A. E., 2002) and I felt I could not do so if I did

not blend Westerncentric research approaches with Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* research methodologies. Although my research was a self-study and I was the subject I was cognisant of the fact that I was not the only participant and therefore control over the research process was a collaborative undertaking involving all participants.

Deciding on a Methodology

As I listened to the anecdotes participants shared with me, I felt a growing sense of unease. I accepted that high school students sometimes confabulate, sharing with their friends or their Dean their own versions of perceived persecution or unjust tyranny during their school day. My sense of unease manifested from what appeared to be recurring incidents, common threads and shared experiences that participants recalled independently of each other about debilitating teacher practice. As I collected more and more anecdotes, patterns began to emerge that did not fit with my espoused theoretical understandings of teacher best-practice. I could not construct theory from the anecdotes in their original form. Instead I used the anecdotes as raw data to consider potential indicators of phenomena that sat uncomfortably with me. I grouped the anecdotes and attributed conceptual labels to each group (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) but found I could not posit hypotheses because such data are not designed to measure relationships in a way that could be repeatedly tested and measured (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Instead, I began to shape propositions from the conceptual relationships that emerged from the data (Whetten, 1989) and interrogate these. This focus will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.

SECTION 3 Analysis.

What assisted me next was a chance conversation with my initial supervisor Elaine about the concept of bricolage and the advantage of using a multidiscipline approach. I saw the value in not limiting my research by using only one lens. I decided to employ grounded theory (Pandit, 1996) because it is less driven by hypothesis and predetermined theoretical solutions (Charmaz, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 2009), and it also allowed me to weave my own theoretical framework, using bricolage (Golafshani, 2003; Kincheloe, 2001, 2005; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2010). Placing grounded theory at the centre of my work I developed a coherent hybrid (See Figure 4) to emphasise the connectivity between each of the methods I used in this multiple-methods approach. Using this hybrid approach meant I was not constrained by a linear or sequential research process and could therefore make meaning from the unexpected revelations the participants' anecdotes exposed. Using this new lens my observations were suddenly

kaleidoscopic, allowing me to render our collective experiences into grounded theory. What challenged my thinking most at this stage of the research journey were the assumptions I had made about teacher engagement and Māori achievement. What I thought I knew was being tested and I found myself making new meaning from old personal mantras.

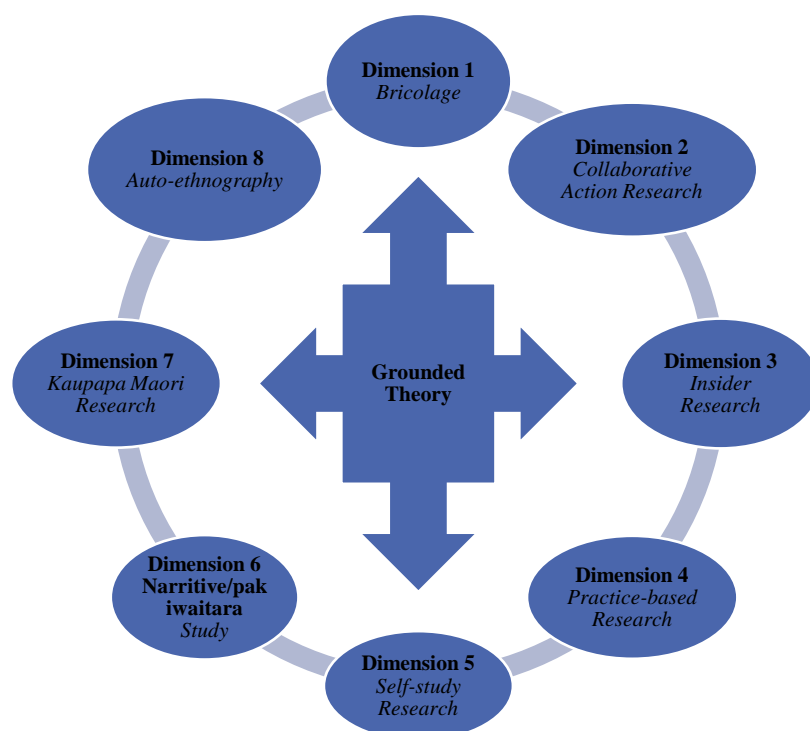


Figure 4. *A Coherent Hybrid - Multiple Methods Research*

Using Bricolage

As a bricoleur I was able to use a range of research approaches and create a purpose-built method to collect, collate, and analyse data, to assist me to explore and explain phenomena I was observing. I had flexibility when dealing with issues of confidentiality, validity, reliability, truth, bias, and error, and these positives far outweighed any negatives I experienced. Bricolage offered me personal and academic freedom to extend the research process and while I did not have a methodological home in the traditional sense of qualitative research, I was confident that the data I collected was less prone to subversion (Ewick & Silbey, 1995) or manipulation, because nothing in the research process was lost, privileged, discarded or left behind.

There was a natural connectivity between each of the dimensions of the bricolage which allowed me to explore my anecdote of self (narrative), look at myself within a larger context (autoethnography), and then examine myself in action (practice-based, self-study)

within my own educational setting (insider) of Papatūānuku High School. My greatest strength as a researcher within this context lay in the opportunity, I had to explore my three selves: the individual, the academic researcher, and the principal. I acknowledged I could not escape the three separate roles I played in the research process; the individual with a social conscience and a finely tuned moral compass, the researcher looking for meaning in the day-to-day events of life at school, and the educational leader focussed on improvement in my professional practice (Hamilton et al., 2008). In fact, it is this acknowledgement that all researchers have multiple selves and bring them to the research act that strengthens bricolage as a valid research methodology, because nothing is lost or left behind, and nothing is privileged or overindulged.

A Multidimensional Approach

I initially employed collaborative action research to explore strategies to build the *hautūtanga/leadership* capacity (Fullan 1996; Levin & Rock, 2003) at Papatūānuku High School. Following the revelation in June 2009 that our NCEA data matched the national statistics on disparities between Māori and Pākehā students, I decided to look, as an insider at possible causes for this unexpected phenomenon. As a practiced-based researcher (Creswell, Hanson, Clark, Vicki, & Morales, 2007; Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004; Furlong & Oancea 2005), I focussed inward to examine my own *hautūtanga/leadership* practices in relation to Māori student achievement. I took a step back and pondered what role I had played in the disparities that had occurred. This provided me with an avenue for self-study (LaBoskey, 2004b) and a legitimate opportunity to begin with myself to explore through Narrative Inquiry (Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr, 2007; LaBoskey, 2004b) the problems identified by Māori students that were affecting their engagement and achievement.

My discussions with Māori students, and the intensity of their feelings about school and how they felt as learners surprised me. I had incorrectly assumed that these students were happy at school and enjoyed the same benefits and privileges as their Pākehā peers. As I collected their anecdotes I was struck by the cultural divide (Smith, G. H., 2003) participants negotiated daily. I decided to craft their anecdotes into nonfiction narratives and use them as units of analysis to assist me to make new meaning about the relationship between Māori students and the school. Chapters 4 to 8 contain five nonfiction narratives that respectively encapsulate the recurring themes of Ahurea Tuakiri/*Identity* (Rongo-a-whare), Mōriroriro/*Cultural Alienation and Māori Taiohi/Māori adolescent* (Kaharoa), Ātetenga/*resistance* (Honey), Mātauranga Māori/*Māori World View* (Papera Hakapia) and Tino Rangatiratanga/*Self-determination* (Dianne), that emerged from the data analysis. Each chapter contributes to a broader

understanding of the multiple challenges Māori often face when navigating the AotearoaNew Zealand education system.

For the participants in this study school was often an alien cultural bastion and some of the teaching practices they experienced conflicted with their expectations around cultural values/*whanonga pono* and cultural practices/*tikanga*. The experiences students shared with me fashioned a new view of my professional world that was suddenly disorienting (Bishop, 2003a). I also wrote personal memoirs that recorded the events of my childhood and my life as a teacher that had shaped me into the person I am. These two data sets helped me make visible what had until then been invisible to me. I decided to examine my pedagogical practice in relation to the cultural expectations our Māori students and their *whānau/family* had of an educational leader. I made a commitment to employ a kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* approach to research (Berryman, et al., 2013) whenever I could, to mitigate the dichotomy I faced of being an institutional insider but a cultural outsider (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

Finally, I (Ellis, 1997b; 1999) to help me record my thoughts, feelings and experiences as undertook this research journey. Writing, using the first-person pronoun, allowed me to traverse the unfamiliar landscape of the students' world, *te ao Māori/Māori world view*, and then write about my impressions, reactions, responses and the new learning I experienced. I used memoir because it is a powerful research tool which allowed me to think, to analyse, to theorise, and finally to make personal meaning from new and unexpected experiences I had as a Pākehā educational leader.

A Coherent Hybrid

What follows is a brief description of each of the eight dimensions I included in the Multiple Methods Research - A Coherent Hybrid (See Figure 5).

Dimension 1 *Bricolage*

Bricolage (Golafshani, 2003; Kincheloe, 2001; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2010) allowed me to intertwine methodologies, creating in the work a lucidity captured by the multiple voices of the participants. I found freedom in bricolage to collect data from a range of sources, using multiple artifacts and incorporating numerous perspectives. Though my focus was on self-study, research by its very nature is an interactive process and is therefore shaped, not only by

the researcher's own personal history, biography, gender, social class, race and ethnicity, but also by those of the people in the research setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 1999). As a researcher, who was also a participant, I was concerned with making meaning not reality from the interconnected realities of the group. Mine was not a search for some naive concept of realism, I wanted to focus on what Kincheloe and Berry (2004) describe as the clarification of my position in "the web of reality and the social locations of other researchers and the ways they shape the production and interpretation of knowledge" (p. 2).

Bricolage is the art of constructing knowledge and the bricoleur is both a scientist and artist (Strauss, 1962). As a bricoleur I rejected the notion that a multimethod (Brannen, 2005) approach was too fragmented and data could not be measured accurately. I sought to reveal that the data resulting from this study would be valid and trustworthy (Harrison, MacGibbon, & Morton, 2001). As bricoleur I became an artist focussed on constructing a material object and as well an object of knowledge (Strauss, 1962). I wanted to use bricolage to illuminate the possibilities of the binary relationship of scientist and artist, and also the inverse functions which each role assigns to events and structures as ends and means. Strauss (1962) describes such synergy as, "the scientist creating events (changing the world) by means of structures and the 'bricoleur' creating structures by means of events" (p. 14).

As the artist/bricoleur I avoided positivist and post-positivist approaches (Cupchik, 2001; Ormston et al., 2014) in favour of post-modern imaginings (Dantley, 2002; Rip & Meulen, 1996) to create knowledge that was different, and as importantly, to create that knowledge differently. I wanted my contribution to the field of principal hautūtanga/*leadership* in education to recognise *being* over *knowing*. I chose to pick up on Lather and St Pierre's (2013) challenge to researchers in the field to "see language, the human, and the material not as separate entities mixed together but as completely imbricated on the surface" (p. 630). Bricolage provided that imbrication, resulting in an alternative to a traditional one-dimensional approach. I found the freedom to explore and make sense of my hautūtanga/*leadership* thinking and practice from multiple perspectives, viewing possibilities through multiple lenses, as I explored the data bricolage provided.

Using bricolage helped me to develop new theoretical and philosophical concepts (Kincheloe, 2001) within a culturally responsive methodological framework. It was important that my research methodology was credible, meaningful and most importantly established

respectful relationships based on common human dignity and aroha/love (Berryman et al., 2013).

Dimension 2

Collaborative Action Research

Initially I was interested in strategies we could use as a staff to improve the overall achievement of students at Papatūānuku High School. We undertook collaborative action research (Jones, S., Lefoe, Harvey, & Ryland, 2012; Feldman & Weiss, 2010), to build our *hautūtanga/leadership* capacity with a view to strengthening our pastoral network. We worked in self-nominated collaborative teams. Participants engaged in self-reflection, self-evaluation, peer-observation, and learning conversations. The research teams shared ideas around *hautūtanga/leadership* best-practice and engaged as a group with the literature that focussed on *hautūtanga/leadership* theory and practice. Research teams met weekly and participants shared their experiences, thinking and reflection, which they documented in reflective journals. Using this collaborative approach (Ainscow, Booth, & Dyson, 2004), after two years we could demonstrate an improvement in *hautūtanga/leadership* best-practices, and in the pastoral care of all students, but we could not demonstrate a corresponding improvement in the academic achievement of all students. We had to concede that disparities existed between Māori and Pākehā students.

Dimension 3

Insider Research

As an insider researcher (Asselin, 2003; Greene, 2014; Mercer, 2007; Sikes & Potts, 2008), I could demonstrate a legitimate and direct involvement with and connection to my research setting (Robson, 2002). I was interested in examining whether there was a correlation between my principal *hautūtanga/leadership* practices and the achievement Māori students in my school. A common assumption made about insider research is that it offers a distinct advantage in terms of accessing and understanding the culture (Labaree, 2002) of the institution to which you belong. As an insider, I was advantaged by the omnipotent view I had of my institution, but similarly I was challenged to consider whether I did in fact understand the culture, given the bicultural nature of the school. The second challenge I faced was my familiarity with the participants in the research group (Chavez, 2008) and the power differential that existed because I was the principal. As an insider, I was bound by the ethical obligations I had, both as principal and as researcher. I did not want to compromise this privileged position and so negotiated agreed and appropriate ethical boundaries and processes with the participants

prior to beginning any data collection. Because I worked collaboratively with the participants throughout the data collection phase, we were also able to constantly re-visit the boundaries we set and our agreed processes (Floyd & Arthur, 2010). Negotiating the research space and the ethical implications of my methodology can be discussed in more detail in Section 3 of this chapter.

Dimension 4 *Practice-based*

Our 2009 NCEA data highlighted disparities between Māori and Pākehā student achievement and was the catalyst for this research project. My decision to explore my *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogy and its possible relationship to Māori underachievement was rooted in my belief in the moral imperative of bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* (Burrows, 2014). Practice-based research (Brandenburg, 2008; Myers, 2002; Pinnegar & Hamilton, 2009) recognised the insider's legitimate right to undertake research in their own institution. I was well placed to embark on practice-based research given that the school roll stood at 1,756 and 10% of our cohort were Māori. I employed a constructivist approach to build on the inclusive culture of professional learning we had developed during our action research into *hautūtanga/leadership* capacity (Candy, 2006). I had been appointed as what Fullan (1993) described as a change agent and was proud of what I had achieved in my role as principal. My annual principal's appraisal documents affirmed I met the professional standards as required under the Principals' Collective Agreement. Confronting the realities of the disparities that existed for Māori students called into question my efficacy as a leader, given how heavily influenced I had been by my Pākehā/Westerncentric perspective. Undertaking practice-based research allowed me to examine my day-to-day practice through an entirely new lens and provided me with a systematic, intentional, and self-critical approach to create new meaning and understanding for myself as a leader. I was curious to know what effective *hautūtanga/leadership* looked like when it was informed by a conscious bicultural perspective. I felt very deeply that as the educational leader of the school I had a profound moral obligation to study my own *hautūtanga/leadership* practice, particularly if I had concerns that it may be contributing to a lack of Māori student success.

Dimension 5 *Self-study*

The term self-study suggests a singular and individual approach to researching the self in relation to professional practice (Loughran, 2007). Effective self-study (Feldman, 2003; Myers, 2002; Pinnegar & Hamilton, 2009) goes beyond the self and uncovers deeper understandings of the relationship between the researcher, their world, and the intersections of that construct with alternative worlds. Self-study has been dismissed as a self-indulged, narcissistic approach to research because it is argued that it lacks both rigour and validity (Korthagen & Lunenberg, 2004). If self-study deliberately addresses these perceived weaknesses through deft analysis, then its true value is derived from its focus on alternative perspectives and the reframing of the researcher's experience of situations, ideas, mores, and norms, and their ability to shift beyond a sense of self to an organically negotiated reality (LaBoskey, 2004a).

My experience of self-study allowed me to utilise the characteristic qualitative research tools of observation, interview, and artefact collection and it also demanded that I adhere to the same standards of rigour as other qualitative research methods (Cole, A. L. & Knowles, 1996; Knowles & Cole, A. L., 2008). In that context self-study (Williams & Ritter, 2010) provided me with a vehicle for the honest interrogation of self and offered me a myriad of research tools to collect data to assist with that. In examining my own practice, I relied on my annual appraisal documents, the school's student achievement data, my reflective journals, the anecdotes of the participants, and the nonfiction narratives I crafted. I used these data sources to explore the cultural gaps that existed for Māori students in our school's systems, structures and communications.

Self-study required me to build relationships with all participants based on mutual trust and respect. When participants shared their intimate stories with me, I did not interrupt them or try to clarify events they described or comments they made. The strength of using anecdote as data came from its requirement for me to be passive. It was only after listening to the stories and talking at length with the participant that I felt I could begin any valid interpretation of their oral accounts. Self-study required me to reflect inwardly, to be reflexive (Etherington, 2004) in approach and make connections before I began any writing. My real learning came first from my interpretation of the anecdote and then from the feedback I received from participants when I presented them with my text and asked for their comments. I wanted to ensure that my interpretation did not deny the participant's reality and result in their repudiation of the content. Although I wrote with fidelity, exercising a sense of conscience, I was also aware that unless I introduced overt processes to ensure reliability and honesty (Bullough & Pinnegar, 2001) all

trust would be lost. I had to make a deliberate effort to suspend my preconceived notions, understanding and theories in favour of new ideas, hidden knowledge, and assumed meanings in my writing so that I in no way altered the original content. Edel (1984) asserts that “the personages exist; the documents exist; they are givens to the writers of lives. They may not be altered. To alter is to disfigure” (p. 15).

Self-study provided me with tools to interrogate my understanding of the mechanics of the social relationships that underpinned the school setting. The cognitive dissonance I felt as I listened to the anecdotes of the participants unsettled me. My three selves (see Figure 1) could not ignore, reject, or avoid this new reality I found myself struggling with. My disquiet stemmed from my observation that participants’ cultural understandings were constantly challenged at school, which created for them a sense of cultural dissonance (Jose, Rata & Richards, 2017) when they found themselves in that no-mans-land of cultural indifference. I noticed that students consciously or unconsciously either minimised the costs and risks to their *ahurea tuakiri/cultural identity* by acquiescing to dominant discourse (Bourdieu, 1989) or they overtly disengaged refusing the subjugation of their identity through *ātetenga/resistance* (Hynds et al., 2016).

I used my reflective journal to record my reactions and responses as I grappled with my own feelings of ambivalence. If I ignored the day-to-day realities that challenged each of the participants, I would be complicit within a system that perpetuated inequality, racism, and reinforced an ideology that perpetuated the disparities that were the catalyst for my investigation. My reflective journal rapidly filled with mind-maps detailing my reactions to the gaps and disconnections I saw emerging as participants articulated their lived experiences at school.

Self-study personified the metaphorical triumvirate I had always been: the person requiring honesty, the professional demanding integrity, and the academic seeking rationality. I embraced the internal dialogue that sprang from self-disruption and Māori difference (Yukich & Hoskins, 2011) and laid bare my intimate thoughts, feelings, and experiences. I knew the participants in my study comprehensively challenged the stereotypical definitions of Māori students as failures (Bishop et al., 2009; Bishop, 2015). I wanted to celebrate them as learners by exploring bicultural pedagogies to support and enhance their aspirations. Self-study meant I started with myself and challenged those damaging stereotypes by exposing them.

Dimension 6

Nonfiction Narrative Inquiry

I have always been an anecdote teller. In my early years of teaching I used anecdotes from my life to engage and form positive relationships with my students. However, I did not choose to use nonfiction narrative inquiry because I thought I could tell a good anecdote, nor did I believe it was going to be an easy option. In each of the nonfiction or composite narratives I wrote I used the first person narrative interpretive method (Wertz, Nosek, McNiesh, & Marlow, 2011) to initiate, build and expand on my experiences as the subject of the study. I accepted that narrative inquiry would be hard because it involved the honest interrogation of self and the sharing of often intimate and untold personal stories in a public forum. I chose narrative inquiry (Trahar, 2009) because the methodology allowed me to describe pivotal moments in my life and the lives of the participants in relation to my learning about kaupapa Māori hautūtanga/*leadership* and about being a bicultural leader.

I used the methodological framework I constructed to combine the art of creating literature with craft of designing qualitative research. I wanted to make meaning from the incongruent events that disrupted the equilibrium of our daily lives. By capturing our personal stories and transforming them into nonfiction narratives I produced powerful data (Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr, 2007), which I used to analyse and theorise about the disconnect I saw between the behaviours of the participants and the expectations of the school. Narrative inquiry is a powerful sociological analysis tool and by utilising it I was able to explore my hautūtanga/*leadership* role lived lives of the participants. It was their generosity in providing unadulterated descriptions of the realities of their lives at school and agreeing to my intrusive scrutiny of their versions of that reality that strengthened the work.

There are those who criticise narrative inquiry, describing it as unsatisfying, often ambiguous, and a constructed version of a convenient truth. Staunch antagonists claim that such data are not valid because they are not reliable and cannot be replicated (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). The experiences shared in the stories of the participants in my study contradict such criticism given that they echoed the same stories of hurt, pain, frustration, and anger that permeate the writing of indigenous peoples from all over the world (Brown, L. & Strega, 2005).

Dimension 7

Kaupapa Māori Research

An important step in my learning journey was the realisation that traditional Westerncentric research methods would not assist me to move beyond the hegemony of that dominant discourse. The need to adopt culturally appropriate strategies when working with Māori and whānau/family (Pihama et al., 2002) posed a real challenge for me. As a Pākehā researcher I processed the requisite skills and knowledge to investigate student achievement in a secondary school setting; however, what I lacked was a credible balance to my Westerncentric world view. I decided to use a kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* research framework (Bishop, 1999; Walker, S., Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006; Eketone, 2008) that would provide the added dimension of an epistemologically based approach firmly located within Māori cultural specificities, preferences, and practices (Irwin, 1992; Smith, G. H., 1992). I was interested to explore what Savage et al. (2014), described as an approach that was:

collectivistic in its ethos and approach ...[and] oriented toward benefitting all research participants and their collectively determined agendas, defining and acknowledging Māori aspirations for research, as well as developing and implementing Māori theoretical and methodological preferences and practices for research (p. 166).

I was aware that there could be ātetenga/*resistance* to a Pākehā researcher using a kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* methodological approach, given it was an approach deliberately developed by Māori researchers in response to Māori experiences of exploitation, lack of control over their own research experiences, and lack of tino rangatiratanga/*self-determination* (Gibbs, 2005: Young, 2004). I did not try to explain away or justify my choice, rather I illustrated in my day-to-day workings with participants and their whānau/families the potential to shift the locus of authority over the research process from me as an expert (researcher) to us as the experts who created a collectively determined agenda (Bishop, 1999).

As the researcher, I initiated the research process in response to a Māori student requesting that her Māori name be removed from the school roll and replaced with a Pākehā one she had chosen instead. To explore and create meaning from that encounter I deviated from the traditionally Westerncentric approach of impartial observation and deliberately collaborated with the participant to ensure we had an agreed understanding of why she had made that choice. As I worked with more and more of the participants, we negotiated the research process to ensure my investigations, findings, and how I presented those findings would benefit them and

then others who had had similar experiences, when the study was finally published. By telling and retelling stories of our experiences we worked collaboratively to create an authenticity of representation that gave legitimacy to the data and made us collectively accountable for the creation of the new knowledge that we then proffered as our shared reality. Our stories were deeply personal and for some participants they were shared at great personal cost and were therefore not for publication. Some stories laid bare aspects of our life experiences and exposed to the world the soft underbelly of our own intense vulnerability (Bunker, 1997). In sharing our experiences, we were the main characters in the stories, we were the themes the stories explored, and we alone were the personification of the raw wounds often left to fester in a void of indifference.

I acknowledge that my work can attract criticism from those who argue this is yet another colonialist appropriation of the social, political, historical, intellectual, and cultural legitimacy of Māori interests. I disagree and argue here that it is I who am Other in the context of this research enterprise; and it is the participants' *reo/language*, *ahurea/culture*, *mōhio/knowledge*, and *whaipainga/values* that are the accepted norm. As the researcher I adhered to these norms and expectations and did not attempt to inveigle the data with my Westerncentric understandings. By employing a kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* methodology I sought to build a mutually beneficial partnership between me as the researcher and the participants who were in my personal and professional care. Such an approach is new and seeks to support two unique world views in a symbiotic research relationship.

Dimension 8

Autoethnography

An important piece of the bricolage in my research methodology was autoethnography (Ellis, 1997a; Spry, 2001; Wall, S., 2006). One of the most important aspects of employing autoethnography for me was ensuring that my writing clearly demonstrated valid critical analysis of my own experiences and avoided a biographical focus of writing saturated in self. Far from being a narcissistic attempt (Delamont, 2007), my writing was messy, chaotic, and at times uncertain. It was the very act of embracing the not-knowing (Adams, T. E., et al., 2015) that strengthened my writing and legitimised it as an academic exploration of the self in relation to others.

My journey into autoethnographic research practices began with a serendipitous conversation with a helpful librarian at the University of Canterbury early in 2012. I had asked

for help to find an article on qualitative research using self-study methodology. The librarian provided me with a copy of Ellis' (2004) *The Ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. I had not read anything like Ellis' work before and although I enjoyed the book, I was initially sceptical about her claim that research could be used as a tool to understand a self or some aspect of a life lived in a cultural context (Ellis, 2004). Ellis provided me with a blueprint for post-modern research methods as I grappled with the machinations of the construction of new knowledge (Gergen, 1992; Rip & Meulen, 1996).

Autoethnography has weathered its fair share of academic scrutiny and criticism as an emergent qualitative research methodology. Delamont (2007) was emphatic in her challenge to such an approach as a legitimate methodology, arguing that autoethnography was both literally lazy and intellectually lazy. She identified six specific limitations, which I list here, of autoethnography in her paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference:

1. Autoethnography cannot fight familiarity;
2. Autoethnography is almost impossible to write and publish ethically;
3. Research is supposed to be analytic not merely experiential;
4. Autoethnography focuses on the powerful and not the powerless to whom we should be directing our sociological gaze;
5. Autoethnography abrogates our duty to go out and collect data;
6. We (Sociologists) are not interesting enough to be the subject matter of sociology.

Exponents of autoethnography (Chang, 2008; Chang, Ngunjiri, & Hernandez, 2013; Duncan, 2004; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Frank, 2000; Holt, 2001; Muncey, 2005; Reed-Danahay, 1997; Sparkes, 2000; Wall, S., 2006;) join Ellis (1997a) to defend both its relevance and potential to deliver a variety of modes of engaging self and selves in relation to others, to culture, and to politics. Ellis and Bochner (2000), define autoethnography as “an autobiographical genre of writing that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural” (p. 739). Autoethnography integrates distinctive features of a new language that has developed in qualitative methods over the past four decades (Gubrium & Holstein, 1977). It was this language that helped me to describe my fragmented self as I became more and more visible in my research. The research process required me as principal to employ strong reflexivity, as researcher to ensure relational engagement, and as the “I” to develop a personal vulnerability.

The method preserves the unique strengths of self-reflexivity associated with autobiography, cultural interpretation associated with ethnography, and multisubjectivity associated with collaboration (Chang et al., 2013).

Delamont (2007) argues that autoethnography only focuses on the powerful and not the powerless. As an autoethnographer I did not feel powerful. The very nature of the work exposed me on a personal level and made me vulnerable. I was required to rethink my assumptions about research being neutral, impersonal, and objective, as I contended with a methodology that was both process and product. Although personally testing, and at times painful, autoethnography brings credibility and integrity to the act and art of the research (Creswell, 2009). I was more than an observer of the life experiences of the participants. My research was contextual as I shared my experiences of listening to their telling and retelling of their stories. Together, we discussed the significance of the events they described and together we made meaning of those experiences.

Autoethnography allowed me tease out my own thinking and reflect on what participants shared with me about what it meant to be Māori in the monocultural (Sibley, Hoverd, & Liu, J. H., 2011) environment of our school. My response to those sensory and emotional experiences was often visceral as I vicariously experienced the injustice, isolation, alienation, hurt, pain, and anger that affected participants so deeply, and often, silently and privately (Fickel, Angel, MacFarlane, S & MacFarlane, A, 2017). The nonfiction narratives I wrote reflected the deep sense of responsibility I felt and the ethic of care and concern I had for the participants. With this newfound knowledge, I documented the deliberate changes I made to my praxis and recorded my observations of the reaction these changes wrought on those around me.

Autoethnography demands of the researcher the courage to expose their vulnerable selves and to explore and write about significant and intimate moments in their lives. I wrote unflinchingly about my doubts, disappointment and despair and how each of the experiences I recalled shaped me as a persona and as an educational leader. I then amplified those experiences into nonfiction narratives, as a tool to assist me to make the cultural shifts necessary to bring an authenticity to my work. As co-constructors of the nonfiction narratives, the participants shared authority over the published text because they had a vested interest in ensuring the authenticity of texts that purported to describe how their experiences damaged, hurt or diminished them. Their investment in the research, like mine, was personal, often raw and it was real.

As I engaged with the interrogation of self, required of an auto-ethnographer, I came to realise that good autoethnography encourages the reader to take a more active role in the research act, and invites them into the author's world. Excellent autoethnography challenges the reader to use what they learn from the nonfiction narratives to reflect on, understand, and manage their own lived experiences. Exceptional autoethnography achieves all the above, but as well results in shifts and changes in the writer's and the reader's understandings and behaviours for the better. It is these shifts and changes in my thinking and understanding that I discuss in Chapter 10. Life experience

SECTION 3 Data Collection

I used a broad-brush approach (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood, & Maguire 2003; Kemmis, McTaggart, Retallick, 2004; Pilkington 2005; Stringer 2004;) to the collection of data (See Figure 4). I identified four primary data sources: anecdotes, my reflective journals, the personal memoirs I wrote and the nonfiction narratives I produced. All primary data was informed by a specific act of event that occurred in a participant's experience at school. I began the collection of by listening to the personal accounts shared by participants of their experiences at school. During this initial phase of the data collection process over one hundred personal accounts were shared with me by Māori students, staff, and *whānau/family*. A personal account was selected as anecdote and included in the first data set when the content disrupted my equilibrium and touched my deep-seated belief in the preservation of humanity, dignity, justice, and tolerance.

To ensure the authenticity, credibility, and validity (Lather, 1986) of the data before I included it in the database I triangulated what was shared by a participant (with their permission) using secondary sources which included information stored on the school's KAMAR^{vi} system, and conversations with friends of the participants, their *whānau/family*, staff, and local agencies, if that were deemed necessary. I then reflected on the events recalled in the anecdotes in my reflective journal. I journaled links between what I knew, what I thought I knew, and what I needed to know. I formulated questions and posited answers. I journaled how I felt about what had challenged my thinking, and I drew on these reflections, my past experiences and memories, to craft the first draft of a nonfiction narrative. The phenomena I felt underpinned the participants' experiences were distilled into broad themes as I interrogated each of their anecdotes. When I finished the first draft of the nonfiction narrative, I provided the participant with a copy. We then worked collaboratively to redraft and refine the text until they agreed it was an authentic representation of their truth.

I agree with Connelly and Clandinin (1990) who argue that “people by nature lead storied lives and tell stories of those lives ... [and] ... narrative researchers describe such lives, collect and tell stories of them, and write narratives of experience” (p. 2). As a narrative researcher, I endeavoured to personify their hurt, pain, suffering, and frustrations by the retelling of each participant’s personal recollections of their experiences (Denzin, 1989). I moved beyond the concept of a good yarn shared, into the realm of the cultural construction of alternative truths and authentic experiences and made them publicly accessible.

Primary Data Source – Anecdotes

The first data set I created consisted of mind maps of the anecdotes participants shared in my reflective journal as I listened to participants recount their experiences at or of school. I then crafted these anecdotes into explanatory nonfiction narratives and used narrative analytic procedures (Polkinghorne, 1995; Wald, 1995) to distil the themes that emerged. The anecdotes participants shared about their experiences, frustrations, and challenges tested my assumptions about truth and reality (Day, 2012). The phenomena (Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr, 2007; Hamilton, 2005) participants described forced me to confront and test my own thinking and perspectives. I journaled my own responses and began to reimagine and redefine my understanding of culture (Kral et al, 2011). I realised I did not know what success, failure, excellence, or challenge looked like from a Māori perspective. This was the beginning of a paradigm shift in my thinking as an educational leader.

The participants’ anecdotes were *taonga/gifts* from each of the participants and were therefore more than just data for analysis. The ideas, emotions, and experiences that each anecdote revealed resonated with me, reinforcing my espoused view of the moral imperative of *hautūtanga/leadership* that comes from the heart of the leader (Sergiovanni, 2007). As I was collecting very personal stories of hurt, anger, and frustration as data I avoided setting preconceived goals and criteria in advance. Rogers (2012) argues that successful researchers “do not approach knowledge-production activities with concrete plans, methods, tools, or checklists of criteria. Rather, their processes are much more flexible, fluid, and open-ended.” (p. 3). I found it easy to open my heart to the participants as they recounted the often-painful experiences they had had while at school. I looked for and recorded the main themes that emerged from their anecdotes recording my impressions in my reflective journal. I was careful to make meaning from what I found and not what I sought, and as a result I experienced a feeling of intellectual and academic freedom that is both the promise and reward of bricolage.

Hearing the stories and experiencing the raw emotions of participants (Borland, 1991) confronted my understanding of inclusive education and tested my belief in equality of educational opportunity (Codd, 2005). As I listened to the anecdotes the participants shared with me a world that had until that time been invisible opened in front of me. The interrogation of self that autoethnography required helped me to begin to make sense of that world. The new knowledge I acquired broadened my world view and strengthened my understandings, interpretations, and thoughts about culture, personal identity, and an individual's sense of self. I felt unsettled by the dichotomy I observed when participants' Māori sense of self was subjugated by the pervasive and enduring hegemonic values, beliefs, and practices of the Pākehā culture which shapes the AotearoaNew Zealand education system. My growing awareness of the barriers that faced the participants challenged me to seek out and trial culturally appropriate pedagogies and evaluate their impact on my professional practice. I discuss this process in detail in each of Chapters 4 – 8.

Primary Data Source - Reflective Journals

I used my reflective journal consistently (See Figure 5) as a litmus test to avoid the uneasy separation of ontology (the nature of reality/what can be known about) and epistemology (the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known), and to assist me to continually take account of the situated nature of my experiences in relation to the complexity of the cultural, historical, and linguistic traditions that I could no longer take for granted (Jun, 1994). I constantly journaled my interactions, reactions, encounters, challenges, and frustrations as I experienced the personal disruption caused by constant challenges to my hegemonic understanding of the status quo. I wrote both nonfiction narratives and personal memoirs based on the anecdotes shared with me by participants to assist me to tease out my understanding of my own monoculturalism in relation to the bicultural competence exhibited by the participants. I created mind-maps to deepen my thinking as I critically reflected on the implications of what I observed, not only for me as an educational leader, but for our education system as well. I reflected on the situatedness of my position and came to realise that within the context of the school my reality, my perspective, and my experiences were not universally shared, in fact my reality was just one amongst many (Cunliffe, 2003).

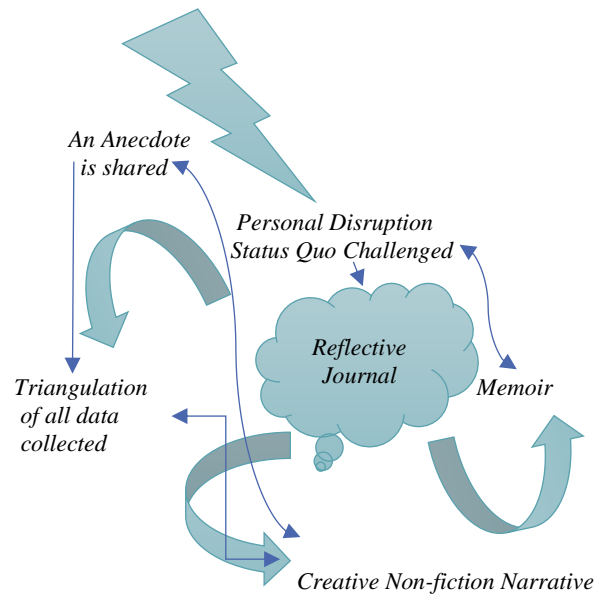


Figure 5. Multiple Sources - Data Collection

The entries I made in my reflective journal evolved into a reflexive act (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009; Pillow, 2003; Schnellert, Richardson, P., & Cherkowski, 2014), helping me to constantly challenge my own assumptions and make sense of the ideas and opinions that constantly swirled around in my head. I focussed on how the data I had collected could help me to make intentional and conscious shifts in my thinking, actions and practice. The participants' reality was no longer an external construct for me and I was no longer a dispassionate observer of research participants.

I distinctly remember how integral my reflective journal had become to the preservation of ideas that challenged me both in my personal and academic life when in 2014, during an overnight, long haul flight to Japan two ideas popped into my head; the first was, "I am the work and the work is me," and the second was, "I know how I can use my data to inform my thinking and construct theory through the analysis of that data." My reflective journal was inaccessible in the overhead locker at the time so I in my enthusiasm I used my napkin (See Figure 6), to map out my thoughts as they tumbled from the end of my pen. The napkin mind-map captured my ideas around rethinking theory and how I could create grounded theory using reflexive inquiry. As soon as I arrived in my hotel room in Tokyo after that eleven-hour flight I glued the napkin into my reflective journal. It was not until nearly a year later that I used that particular entry to design the reflexive inquiry cycle (See Figure 12), in my tripartite model for analysis (See Figure 9).

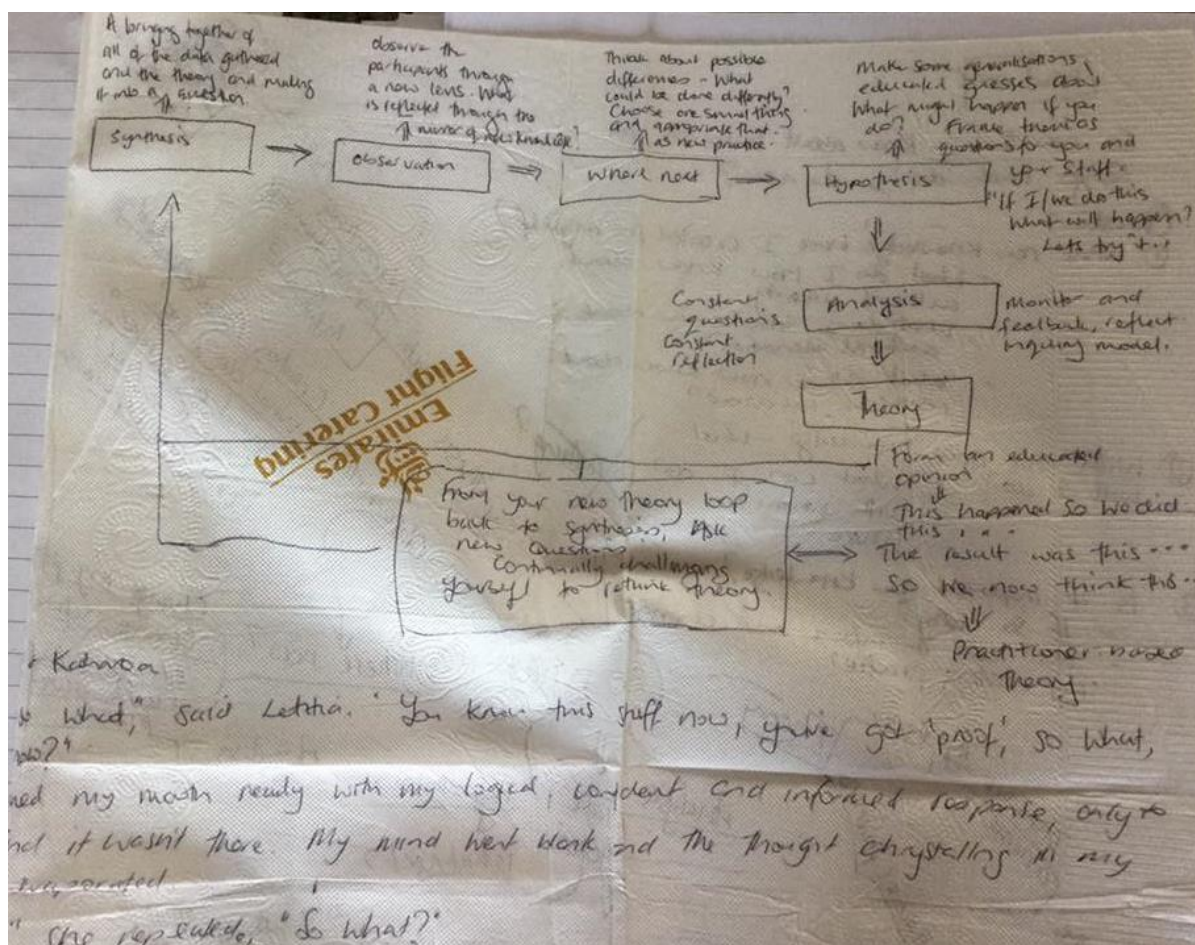


Figure 6. *Rethinking Theory - Reflective Journal, Vol 5: 140412.*

Primary Data Source - Memoir

I find writing a cathartic experience which allows me to explore, probe, and resolve personal feelings of intense joy, turmoil, or confusion in my personal life. Each of the memoirs I wrote focussed on events in my formative years (Polkinghorne, 1995). Each memoir explored how I was shaped and moulded into the person I am, the leader I became, and the leader I aspired to be. My writing helped me to grapple with my growing awareness that I had inherent biases (Lather, 1986), which were, given my ethnicity, clearly rooted in dominant hegemonies, existing hierarchies and implacable Westerncentric ideologies. My encounters with the participants and the gathering of data about their experiences challenged me to acknowledge these inherent biases (Shapiro, Lie, Gutierrez, & Zhuang, 2006). What emerged from my constant interrogation of self was an acceptance of the need for a personal ideological shift that challenged Westerncentric definitions of Māori (Stewart, 2012), which resulted in demonstrable disadvantage for our tangata whenua/indigenous population.

The memoirs I have included in this study are expressions of the life I have lived and place me as both participant and researcher in this work (Sandelowski, 1991). Each of the memoirs is a milestone which helped to mould me into the person I am. The memoirs traverse the three selves I bring to the work; the personal, the professional, and the academic and demand a level of ethical self-consciousness that transcends research as observation (Mulhall, 2003). I used memoir to interpret my world in a deliberate act of self-actualisation (Itai, 2008) and to conjure links to the thoughts, feelings, actions, and emotions of the reader. It was through this approach and the use of nonfiction narrative that I was able to involve the reader vicariously, in our collective experiences at a state secondary school in AotearoaNew Zealand. This study juxtaposes the lives of the researched with that of the researcher in an exploration of cultural practices we identified as culturally unsafe. It is the collective shifts in cultural understanding that participants and I made, and the resulting changes to my professional *hautūtanga/leadership* practice that form the nucleus of this study.

Secondary Data Source - Nonfiction narrative

I have used nonfiction narrative (Coulter & Smith, M. L., 2009; Heyne, 1987; Richardson, L., 2000), as one of the secondary data sources for this study. It is a persuasive genre and used well it has the potential to blend literary techniques with factual matter and make the inaccessible, accessible to a wide range of audiences. Listening to students recall the events in their daily lives at school that negatively or adversely affected them, not only assisted me to construct new knowledge and fresh understandings of culture and identity (Stuart, 2003); but, just as importantly allowed me to deliberately contest what I had intuitively interpreted as rational social constructs, which portrayed Māori as problematic (Plummer, 2001; Riessman, 1993). Whenever a participant shared a personal account with me and I chose to include it as an anecdote it became a secondary data source. Not all anecdote that were shared with me were included as nonfiction narratives. In crafting the anecdotes into nonfiction narrative, I created a research tool I could use to forge new pathways to understandings of what happened to our Māori students in their everyday lives at school, from their own perspectives rather than from a prevailing Westerncentric view. I followed the same process for recording the detail (See Figure 6), which allowed me to move from the general (experience) to the specific (theme) and ensured a rigour required in qualitative research.

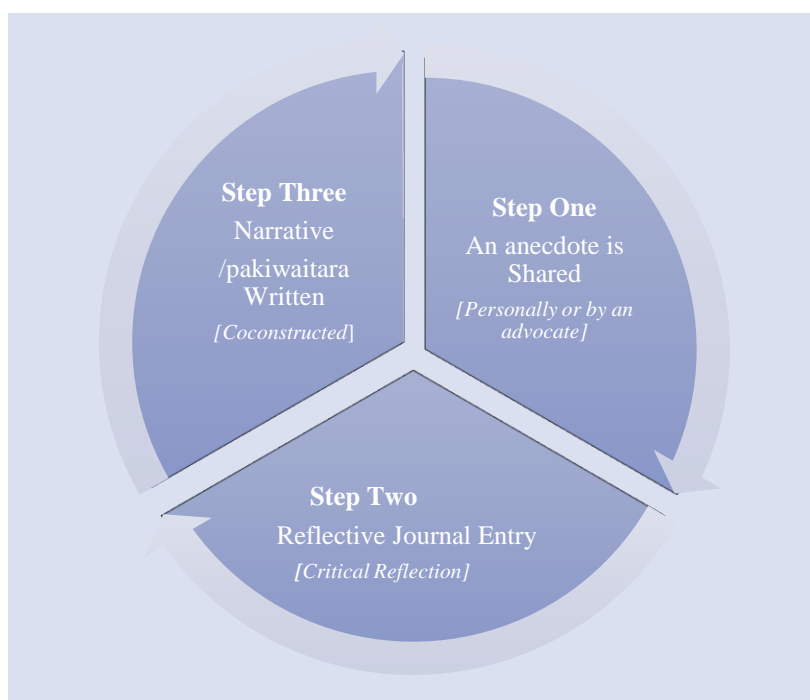


Figure 7. *From Anecdote to Nonfiction Narrative*

Step One required me to listen in silence, making no comments, judgement, or suggestions. This provided me with the coherent, authentic voices of participants who genuinely and honestly described to me their personal anger, hurt, or struggles at our school (Méndez, 2013; Moore & Gino 2013; Morrow, 2005). I then had to gain the permission of the participant to add their anecdote into my reflective journal. I dated each anecdote and then annotated it with my initial impressions.

Step Two involved critical thinking strategies as I mind-mapped my thoughts, assumptions, and theories about the possible meanings and underlying themes the events each anecdote exposed (Eppler, 2006). I recorded my reflections in my reflective journal, deepening my own thinking as I probed beneath the surface of the experiences the participants recalled (Kim, J. H., 2015). Using the material from my reflective journal, I then produced self-reflections that I termed *One Pages*. These contained brief vignettes that created a trenchant impression about a participant's experience, either an emerging idea, a concept that I was grappling with, or on occasions just a short, descriptive, or imaginative passage that evoked new meaning for me. I stored the *One Pages* electronically so that I could revisit them over time.

Step Three required me to unpack the issues and identify the central theme in each anecdote. Using this new knowledge, and the original anecdote as the inspiration, I then wrote the nonfiction narrative. Each narrative was shared with its narrator, and at times his or her whānau/family, to gain

appropriate feedback. They were free to determine what stayed and what was removed from the final text, and if in fact the nonfiction narrative could be used at all. This collaborative process ensured that participants were instrumental in determining if and how their anecdote was told. Permission was always sought before any publication of narratives occurred. An important phase in *Step Three* was to ensure that there was no betrayal of the participants (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008) on my part. We discussed the idea that the truth could not be manipulated, sanitised, or rendered to accommodate a preconceived view or perspective, for to do so would be an act of seduction (Newkirk, 1996). Although I was the writer, I was not the subject, therefore I followed the process for analysis (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002) closely so that I did not inadvertently reconstruct events or ideas to meet some subliminal need I had in presenting the research (Newkirk, 1996).

The nonfiction narratives were a powerful literary tool because they allowed me to create rich text that was firmly grounded in empirical data. I deliberately used evocative and emotive language when writing these accounts, in the hope that the themes and issues explored would resonate deeply with readers. While vicarious, I hoped the experience(s) shared in the text would move reader towards new understandings of themselves (Smith, B., McGannon, & Caniams, 2016) and provoke professional discussions around the issues of cross-cultural understandings (McCabe & Bliss, 2003), cultural competence (Betancourt, Green, Carrillo, & Owusu Ananeh-Firempong, 2016), cultural safety (De Souza, 2008), and indigenous epistemologies (Macfarlane, A. H. et al., 2008). I wanted anyone who read these accounts to be touched by, and understand that, each text was not a work of fiction, but rather an authentic reflection of the reality of the lives of the participants.

Each text was published as a deliberate challenge to individuals who held tight to often taken-for-granted beliefs, assertions and assumptions about the behaviours of Māori students at Papatūānuku High School and Māori in generally. By creating a new lens, I was able to view the nexus between knowledge and power and reorient my understandings of the participants and the society in which they and I lived (Riessman, 1993; Plummer, 2001). I had never understood before the pressure participants felt when they walked through the school gate each day and that for many, they made a personal choice to either surrender their identity at the school gate or accept the subjugation required by a hegemonic structure they were compelled to attend. Prior to undertaking this research study, I had assumed that whether Pākehā or Māori school was a place of belonging.

Secondary Data Source

KAMAR, the school's electronic student management system, was an important secondary data source available to me. It is an electronic system to record academic, pastoral and attendance data for all students at Papatūānuku High School. All students have a personal individual file located on the KAMAR system. These files held all relevant data pertaining to the participants from enrolment to graduation. Information held included attendance, academic achievement, and pastoral information and was a useful tool for triangulating my research data (Hamilton et al., 2009), and for establishing the validity of the information participants sometimes shared with me in their anecdotes. I made clear to participants that data would be triangulated, not because I did not trust them, but because the research had to reach high academic standards for the university personnel, who looked for validity, consistency, corroboration, collaboration, and balance.

SECTION 4 Data Analysis

Narrative analysis (Burck, 2005) invites its own body of criticism by those sceptical of its credibility, objectivity, and reliability (Morgan, 1993; Simonds & Christopher 2013) in the research process. To address such criticism, I developed two specific models for analysis to ensure those criticisms were addressed. The first, was the Interrogation of Self-Analytical Tool Kit (See Figure 7) provided me with a methodical approach for observation, reflection, triangulation, analysis, identifying shifts in my thinking. The interrogation of self is continuous, often resulting in multiple cycles until as the researcher continues to explore and interrogate new knowledge and cultivate new ways of thinking about issues or problems.

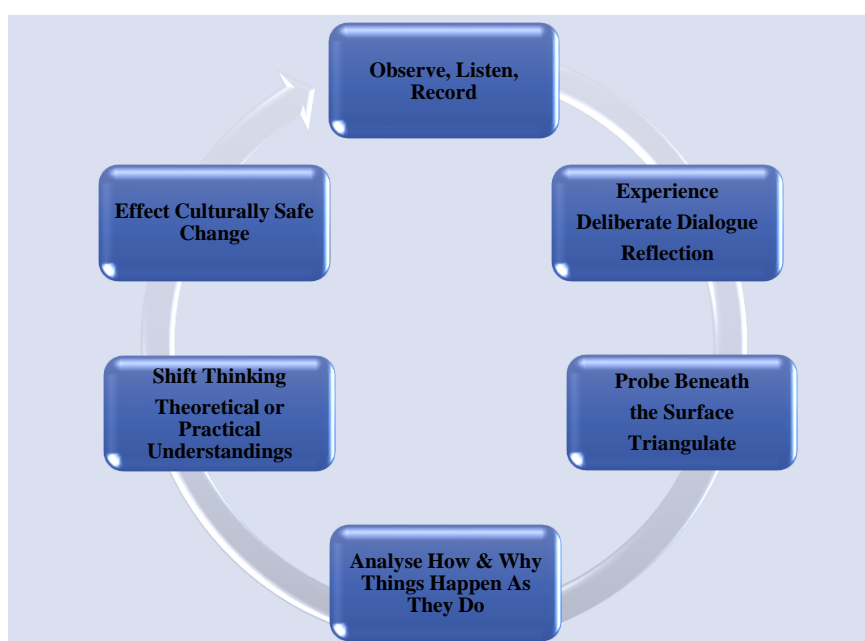


Figure 8. *A Tool Kit for Analysis and the Interrogation of Self.*

I consistently journaled my thinking and mind-mapped my responses to the following questions:

How did I react to what I observed?

How did I begin to identify what it was I not seeing, not hearing,
and not doing because of the events in these stories?

Was I brave enough to articulate these findings and then initiate a
change?

The interrogation of self-required courage, integrity and above all a commitment to personal growth because the process was more than challenging, it was physically and emotionally painful. I found the reflexivity (Flanagan, 1981) required to be ubiquitous, it permeated every aspect of my research process and challenged me to be, as Hertz (1996) describes, “more fully conscious of the ideology, culture and politics of those we study and those whom we select as our audience” (p.3).

Having developed a model to address issues that might have been raised around my credibility, objectivity, and reliability I then developed the second model; a tripartite analytical framework (See Figure 8) to assisted me to explore critical moments in my role as an educational leader, and to make sense of them in relation to the needs and aspirations of Māori participants in the study.

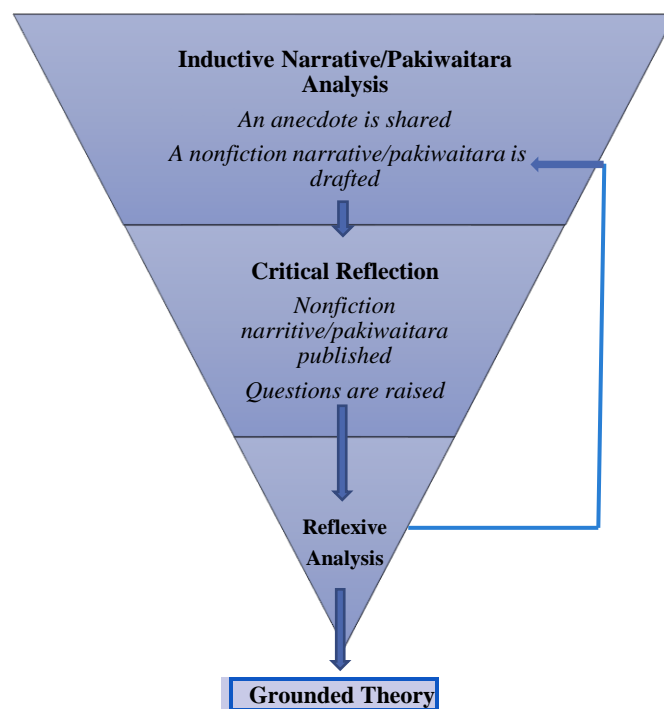


Figure 9. *Tripartite Model for Analysis – Overview.*

Tripartite Model for Analysis

What follows is an explanation of the three cycles for analysis that the tripartite model incorporates to interrogate the data, confront uncomfortable discoveries, tease out new meanings, and explore alternative realities (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Each cycle performs a specific function; Cycle 1 employed inductive narrative inquiry (Thomas, D. R., 2003; 2006) and helped me to pose exploratory questions to assist me to draw out my own ideas, thoughts, reactions, and identify themes that resonated with me. Cycle 2 involved critical reflection (Smyth, 1989) and focussed on asking explanatory questions which help me to clarify my initial thinking. Using Cycle 3, I employed reflexive inquiry analysis (Cochran-Smith, 2003) and asked descriptive questions designed to clarify what I saw, what I thought I saw, and what I determined were the key themes I saw, emerging from the data. The tripartite model is intended to facilitate action research and leads the researcher directly to the positing of grounded theory that is then tested as practice and evaluated by repeating the steps.

Cycle 1: Inductive Narrative Analysis

I was careful to ensure my analysis of the participants' anecdotes was consistent and could be easily replicated. I utilised inductive narrative analysis (Oliver, 1998) (see Figure 8) to assist me drill down into the data I collected. I listened to multiple voices: the pseudo official

voices of authority; the loud and confident voices of the privileged; the angry voices of the burdened; the hurt voices of the offended; and the whispered, faltering voices of the powerless. I did not naively embrace the participants' anecdotes as the absolute truth. Instead, I assessed the degree to which each was an acceptable form of explanation for the phenomenon I had observed. I then tested the validity, of the anecdote against qualitative research literature (Bishop & Glynn, 1999), and other published factual historical nonfiction narratives (Bishop & Berryman 2006). I made personal judgements about each anecdote's contribution to new forms of rhetoric (Richardson, L., 1990; 2000) that convey new meanings, persuade different perspectives, and encourage and provoke new arguments about cultural safety (Macfarlane, A. H. et al., 2007) in AotearoaNew Zealand schools. Each of the five steps in Cycle 1, detailed below helped me to broaden my thinking, make connections and extend my personal understandings and experiences.

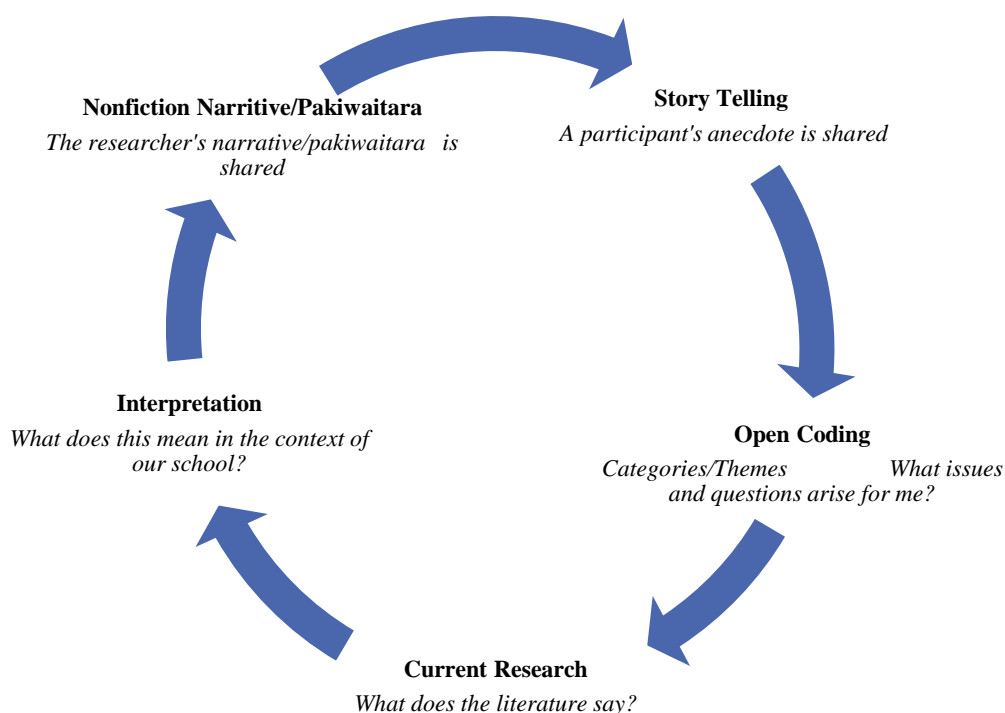


Figure 10. Cycle 1: Inductive Narrative Analysis – Anecdotes.

An Anecdote is Shared

When participants shared their anecdotes with me, I initially made no comment. At this point in the research process I was their principal, and they trusted me in that role to give them a fair hearing and assist them to solve a problem they had encountered. My role therefore was

to sit passively, and simply listen. I did not attempt to ask questions, seek clarifications, give feedback or offer an opinion. When the anecdote was told I thanked the student and asked them what they imagined was the best outcome they could expect when we tackled the problem together. I then asked if they would mind if I wrote their anecdote down, so that I could share my thoughts with them when we next met. Before I attempted to write the narrative, I mind-mapped (Denzin, 2008; Eppler, 2006) the anecdote in my reflective journal and identified what it was that had resonated with me when I heard it for the first time.

Open Coding - Categories/Themes

What issues and questions arise for me?

Using my reflections and mind-maps I wrote each narrative over the period of a week. I drafted and redrafted each piece and then when I felt it was in its final form, I provided a copy to participants and, in some cases, their whānau/family as well, for their critique. I worked collaboratively with participants to ensure that any revisions they felt were necessary were made. Once the text was in its final form and permission to publish was gained, I used common literary response techniques and focussed on three simple questions to help me classify the piece:

How does the writing provide the participant with an authentic voice?

What key theme does the writing explore?

What might the reader learn from this piece of writing?

I interrogated each text to gain insights into the participants' experiences, and their responses to those experiences. In collating that data I looked for the explicit theme that underpinned the text. Having completed this process for each narrative I then looked for commonalities like issues, quandaries, dilemmas and responses that participants had grappled with that linked these texts to each other. The coding of the narratives saw the emergence of five key themes: ahurea tuakiri/identity; mōriroriro/cultural alienation; ātetenga/resistance, te ao Māori/Māori-world-view; and tino rangatiratanga/self-determination.

Current Research

What does the literature say?

Once I had teased out the themes the narratives explored, I searched the literature for research that might help me to explain these phenomena. I explored the research literature relevant to Māori and indigenous experiences in education (Bishop et al., 2003; Mutch & Collins, 2012) and

bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* in a state school setting (Hohepa & Robson, 2008). The research evidence from a wide range of studies helped me to formulate the following questions:

What will I see if Māori are connected and confident participants in our education system?

What will I observe when Māori enjoy positive and effective relationships with all education stakeholders?

What part will I play as an educational leader in a bicultural educational setting?

What will I do to authentically acknowledge *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination* in my role as an educational leader?

How will I ensure Māori feel welcome and included in the daily life of the school?

What will I observe when our school practices embrace meaningful and respectful partnerships with Māori?

How will I ensure Māori are well informed and participate fully in the life of the school?

Interpretation

What does this mean within the context of Māori student achievement?

I then used the notes and annotations I had made on each of the narratives to explore what ideas or assertions I had not considered before (Denzin, 2008). I did not attempt to offer definitive answers to these questions at this stage of the analytical process. I was more interested in taking time to think and to reflect on the multiplicity of answers in relation to me as an educational leader and to the participants as consumers of education, in the context of Papatūānuku High School. I contemplated the following questions:

What links are there between the participants' experiences, the emerging themes, and the research?

What am I observing now that I was not aware of before?

What new thinking is generated in the context of Māori student achievement?

What does the literature say?

I made connections and formed links between the themes, the relevant research, and Papatūānuku High School's existing systems, structures, and professional practice. This approach created a new lens for me, not only as a researcher but as a principal, and an individual as well.

Nonfiction Narrative

The Researcher's Nonfiction Narrative is Shared

Although the participants' experiences remained unchanged in all iterations of the writing process, what did change was my perspective. My new learning unveiled a new learning environment I realised had until that time been hidden in plain sight. By the time each of the narratives was published I felt I knew less than I had at the outset. I now had more questions than answers and the dissonance I felt undermined my belief in my own efficacy as a leader.

Cycle 2: Critical Reflection

A Nonfiction Narrative is Published

As I entered Cycle 2 of the tripartite analysis model, I wondered whether Māori students and their whānau/families acknowledged my *hautūtanga/leadership* as legitimate or whether they defined it as acquired *hautūtanga/leadership/mana whakatipu* in relation to their own need for *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination*. My lack of understanding of things Māori/*kaupapa Māori* was never more apparent to me than at that time. With the publication of the narratives my work entered the public domain and the participants' experiences along with my own, which were our understanding of the truth, became contestable qualitative data for those middle and senior managers at Papatūānuku High School I shared the work with. Cycle 2 of the tripartite analysis model (see Figure 9), assisted me to discuss the narratives with other professionals and reflect deeply on the implications of ideas and themes expressed in each of the texts.

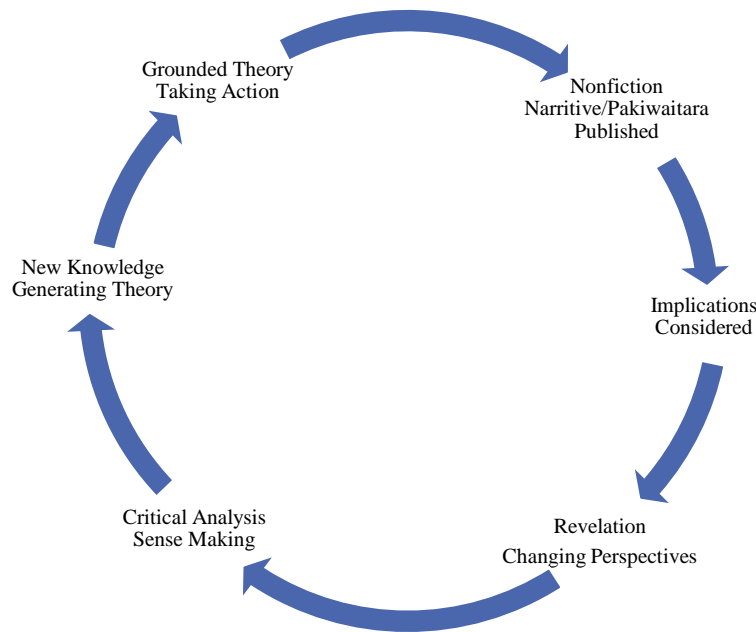


Figure 11. *Cycle 2: Critical Reflection - Asking the Tough Questions.*

Discussions with participants assisted me to formulate explanatory questions integral to critical reflection (Brookfield, 2017). The focus of my questions changed as my understanding of the data deepened. The answers to my questions at each step of the analysis process led me to posit more questions. Critical reflection strengthened my ability to extrapolate meaning from the data and was the genesis of the grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell & Poth, 2017) I developed over time. The explanatory questions I posed assisted me to examine my multiple roles and nascent perspectives, as I teased out the complexities of my *hautūtanga/leadership* role in relation to my three selves and the relationship I had with each of the participants.

Nonfiction Narrative is Published

If I were to extend the metaphor of my study as a journey, I would describe the use of explanatory questions as another set of navigational tools I applied to help me to manage unexpected road blocks or previously unexplored or unexpected detours. Explanatory questions became the compass I used when I could not find any specific direction to follow. I felt a certain amount of trepidation when the nonfiction narrative was made public because I was no longer working in isolation. The nonfiction narrative represented a morphing of an abstract concept into a literary construct designed to assist the reader to comprehend a world view that might challenge their hegemonic assumptions about equality and the principles of social justice. The initial questions I asked myself when I published the nonfiction narrative, were:

How does this nonfiction narrative fairly represent the ideas, issues, and experiences of the participant?

What did I learn that I did not know before I wrote the nonfiction narrative?

Implications Considered

I began to consider the implications of the disconnect I felt between the espoused *hautūtanga/leadership* theory that had underpinned my training and some of the professional practice the nonfiction narrative highlighted in our school. I posed the following questions:

In what ways was I oblivious to the experiences of the participants before I wrote the text?

Which of my assumptions about the situation misled me?

Revelation – Changing Perspectives

I grappled with the revelation that as a school we lacked inherent bicultural understandings, that on occasions Māori students suffered unjust and pejorative treatment, and that in some cases their *whānau/family* did as well. My perspective changed and reshaped my understandings of our school systems and processes and caused me to doubt the rhetoric of equity in education for Māori generally (Borell, Gregory, McCreanor, Jensen, & Barnes, H. E. M., 2009).

What have I learned about the experiences of Māori that I was unaware of before?

What have I learned about my *hautūtanga/leadership* as a result of this experience?

Can I come to different conclusions if I encounter similar situations in the future?

Critical Analysis – Sense Making

I felt a real sense of personal responsibility at this point in my research. I had formed strong, trusting relationships with a group of staff, students and parents who had been brave enough to trust me and share their personal experiences and often their personal pain. The last stage in the model required me to act. The essence of this tool's effectiveness lies in its inherent challenge to the researcher; the so what of the study.

What was required was the personal courage to ask myself hard questions about the veracity of my professional knowledge and to accept the reality of the gaps I found in my personal and professional understanding of tikanga ā-iwi/*cultural practices*. I posed the following questions:

Did I learn something new about myself, my professional skills, and my attitudes?

Was I mistaken about the effect my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice was having on Māori?

Which of my assumptions about my *hautūtanga/leadership* practices misled me?

New Knowledge – Generating Theory

Rather than responding to emotion and assumptions, and building pseudo-theory based upon them (Feldman, 2003), I generated theory based upon my new understandings accrued from the rationality that comes from being part of the research process (Van Manen, 1977). The questions I formulated to test my understandings of why these things happened to participants and why what happened to them became important to me as a person, an educational leader, and a researcher.

I posed the following questions to assist me to generate theory that might explain the reality of the participants' experiences:

Do all Māori experience inconsistencies and unjust treatment when engaging with Pākehā in the education system?

What kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles hautūtanga/leadership* practices could ameliorate any inconsistent or unjust treatment experienced by Māori?

Grounded Theory – Taking Action

Finally, I debated the personal and professional risks I would need to take as I contemplated my next steps. I then identified specific changes I would make to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice, crafted an action plan for change and a systematic method for documenting my experiences. The questions I needed answers to were:

How can I work to effect positive change in my practice and the practice of others when working with Māori in education?

What kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles hautūtanga/leadership* practices can I trial in my day-to-day practice?

How can I role model kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles hautūtanga/leadership* practices to effect positive change for Māori in the education system?

How can I assist staff to explore kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* practices to enhance the educational experiences for Māori?

Who can I rely upon to assist me to effect positive change in my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice?

What ātetenga/resistance to change might I expect?

Responding reflexively to cultural bias is achievable if the practitioner can first define that bias by identify examples or incidents as and when they occur, and then challenge them by adopting culturally sensitive practices. Cycle 3 of this tripartite analytical process provided me with a reflexive tool that took me to a place of personal action in terms of the process, the outcomes, the personal investment required, and the desire for truth and positive change (Ponte & Ax, 2011; Smith, W. A., 2011).

*Cycle 3: Reflexive Inquiry
Elucidation of Self-Reflective Process*

Educational practitioners are skilled at self-reflection and are continually evaluating their practice and pondering new ways to improve of their professional pedagogy. I deliberately included a third cycle in my tripartite model for analysis including reflexive inquiry (See Figure 10). I wanted to interrogate my reflections more deeply and confront my personal assumptions, stereotypical thinking, and cultural beliefs about Māori generally and Māori student engagement specifically. Reflexive analysis (Berger, R., 2015; D'Cruz, Gillingham, & Melendez, 2007; Pillow, 2003; White, 2001;) supported me to look outward to the social and cultural artefacts and forms of thought which saturated my practices and determined the processes by which I had intuitively made sense of my world.

I deliberately challenged and tested my Westerncentric understandings of *hautūtanga/leadership* as I synthesised the data I gathered. The new knowledge (epistemology) and understandings I developed about the relationship between cultural privilege and mōriroriro/cultural

alienation unsettled my moral equilibrium and challenged the tacit knowledge I brought to my *hautūtanga/leadership* role. Cycle 3 of the tripartite analytical framework provided me with a tool to interrogate this new state of disequilibrium I was experiencing and to ask descriptive questions designed to clarify my thinking.

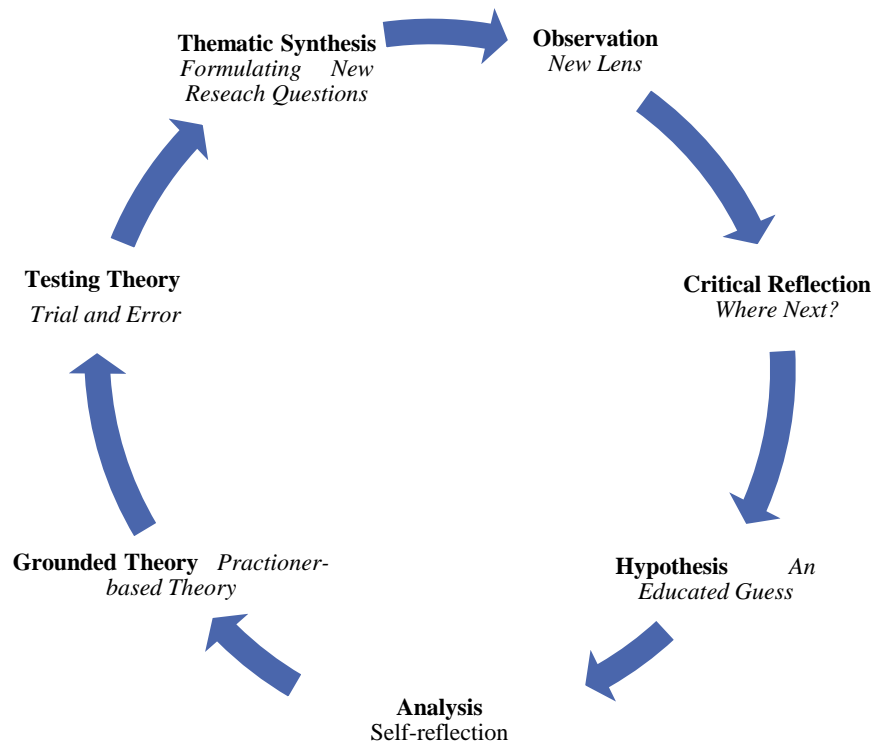


Figure 12. Cycle 3: Reflexive Inquiry Cycle.

Observation – A New Lens

As I worked with the participants and gathered more and more examples of the cultural ambivalence participants experienced at school, I made a significant shift in my understanding of the importance of tino rangatiratanga/self-determination. I felt my initial observations of the participants were inadequate given my default Westerncentric lens. My exposure to an alternative reality (ontology), resulted in a need to explore the inconsistencies I had observed that now unsettled me. To help clarify my thinking I posed the following questions:

What new insights do I have now about the relationships Māori have
with Pākehā in an educational setting?
Why are these insights important?
How do I have to change in order for positive change to occur?

Critical Reflection – Where Next?

I reflected in a critical manner on the new knowledge that coursed through the data, posing new questions and formulating new strategies for the way forward. I explored ideas around principal *hautūtanga/leadership* and what it would look like if an AotearoaNew Zealand principal led in an ethically and culturally responsive way (Murray Orr, 2002). I thought about deliberate changes I could make to my professional practice that might have a positive impact on the school experiences of Māori students. I interrogated my experiences with questions around my professional practice:

How did my experiences challenge my professional practice?

What was it about these new experiences that I found helpful when I initiated strategies to improve my professional practice?

Hypothesis – An Educated Guess

As I worked to extrapolate key themes from my data and personalise their implications for me, I hypothesised, making educated guesses and generalisations, about what I thought might occur if I chose one small thing to change and practised it every day. The following questions framed my thinking and actions at this stage of the cycle:

Which aspects of my experiences did I struggle with and why?

How did I resolve these struggles and why?

Analysis – Self Reflection

I recorded my reflections in my reflective journal as I experimented with deliberate pedagogical changes and then documented my new thinking. I challenged myself to continually apply and test new strategies. I monitored and recorded what impact these new strategies had on my *hautūtanga/leadership* practices and on the participants as well. The following questions focussed this part of the analysis cycle:

How did my experiences connect with and change my perceptions of the role of the teacher, the principal, the board and the AotearoaNew Zealand Ministry of Education?

What changes could I make to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice to develop a culturally safe environment for Māori in an educational setting?

Grounded Theory – Practitioner-Based Theory

Grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000) provided me an exciting new landscape as I began to make sense of the experiences, challenges, frustrations, and sometimes grief that participants shared with me during this study. I grappled with unexpected guilt when I realised that the difficulties participants had experienced occurred regularly: unobserved, unaddressed, and on the periphery of my established day-to-day practice. Each new anecdote amplified my feelings of inadequacy and reinforced the importance of employing research practices that would ensure the cultural safety of each participant (Berryman et al., 2013). I used the following questions to focus my thinking at this stage of the analysis cycle:

What would home-grown *hautūtanga/leadership* look like in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system?

Why is the inclusion of te ao Māori/*Māori world view* important in school *hautūtanga/leadership* in AotearoaNew Zealand?

Testing Theory – Trial and Action

I tested my grounded theories as I undertook my day-to-day work as principal. I sought feedback from participants, colleagues, and whānau/*family* and recorded the degree of success each strategy enjoyed. I recorded my reflections and explored the concept of home-grown *hautūtanga/leadership* and what that could look like if it focussed less on Westerncentric patriarchal ideologies and more on te ao Māori/*Māori world view*. I searched for answers to the following questions:

1. What Westerncentric *hautūtanga/leadership* practices do I employ that I could replace with *hautūtanga/leadership* practices based on kaupapa Māori/*Māori* principles in order to accommodate Māori expectations?
2. Who would be the best people to support me in the professional learning required to establish and maintain the changes I envisage to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practices?

Thematic Synthesis – Formulating New Research Questions

I adapted J. Thomas and Harden's (2008) methods for thematic synthesis to help me to organise my thoughts and deepen my thinking about what effective *hautūtanga/leadership* practices could look like when practitioners deliberately included te ao Māori/ *Māori world view*.

Ahurea tuakiri/*identity* - What will I see if Māori are connected and confident participants in education?

Mōriroriro/Cultural Alienation - What will I see when Māori and Pākehā enjoy positive and inclusive relationships and an equal partnership in all educational settings?

Ātetenga/resistance - What can I do to ensure that my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice authentically acknowledges the importance of te reo Māori/*Māori language* and mana whakaheke/*inherited status*?

Te ao Māori/*Māori world view* - How can I ensure Māori feel welcome, valued, understood and included when working with me in my professional capacity?

Tino Rangatiratanga/*self-determination* - What will I observe when I employ practices that embrace meaningful and respectful partnerships with Māori?

[Conclusions and implications] How can I ensure Māori feel valued with interacting with me as an educational leader?

I then structured the thesis to include a separate chapter for each of the themes I had identified using the tripartite analysis model. Each chapter opened with the narrative that resonated with me and encapsulated the thoughts, feelings, and insights of all the other narratives in that category. In certain instances, to protect the privacy of participants or to make certain antiheroes invisible I deliberately crafted composite narratives. This strategy allowed me to explore important themes but not compromise the ethic of care that underpinned the research process. The strength of the tripartite analysis model came not from the interpretation of individual participants' anecdotes but from the coherent, collective rendering of multiple narratives, that spoke to and for each other and created a sense of linguistic and conceptual symmetry.

Action

Partnership in the Research Process

Knowing something is not right in an educational setting is not enough to effect change! Knowing something is not right and then acting upon that knowledge to address an injustice or disparity is a moral imperative and is the responsibility of every educational leader in AotearoaNew Zealand. I was faced, however, with the overwhelming realisation that I was not

equipped to lead the change required. I continued to use my reflective journal (See Figure 11) to record my impressions and used these as data to sharpen my focus and develop new questions to address the dilemma all researchers face – “So what?”

I journaled my thoughts, feelings, and the strategies I planned for the way forward. I mind-mapped my thinking addressing the following questions:

1. What is it I think I know?
2. Where do I start to begin to address these issues?
3. How can I build critical mass to encourage positive change?
4. Who, apart from me, could change and why?
5. What are the risks and pitfalls?
6. Where and to whom can I go for assistance?

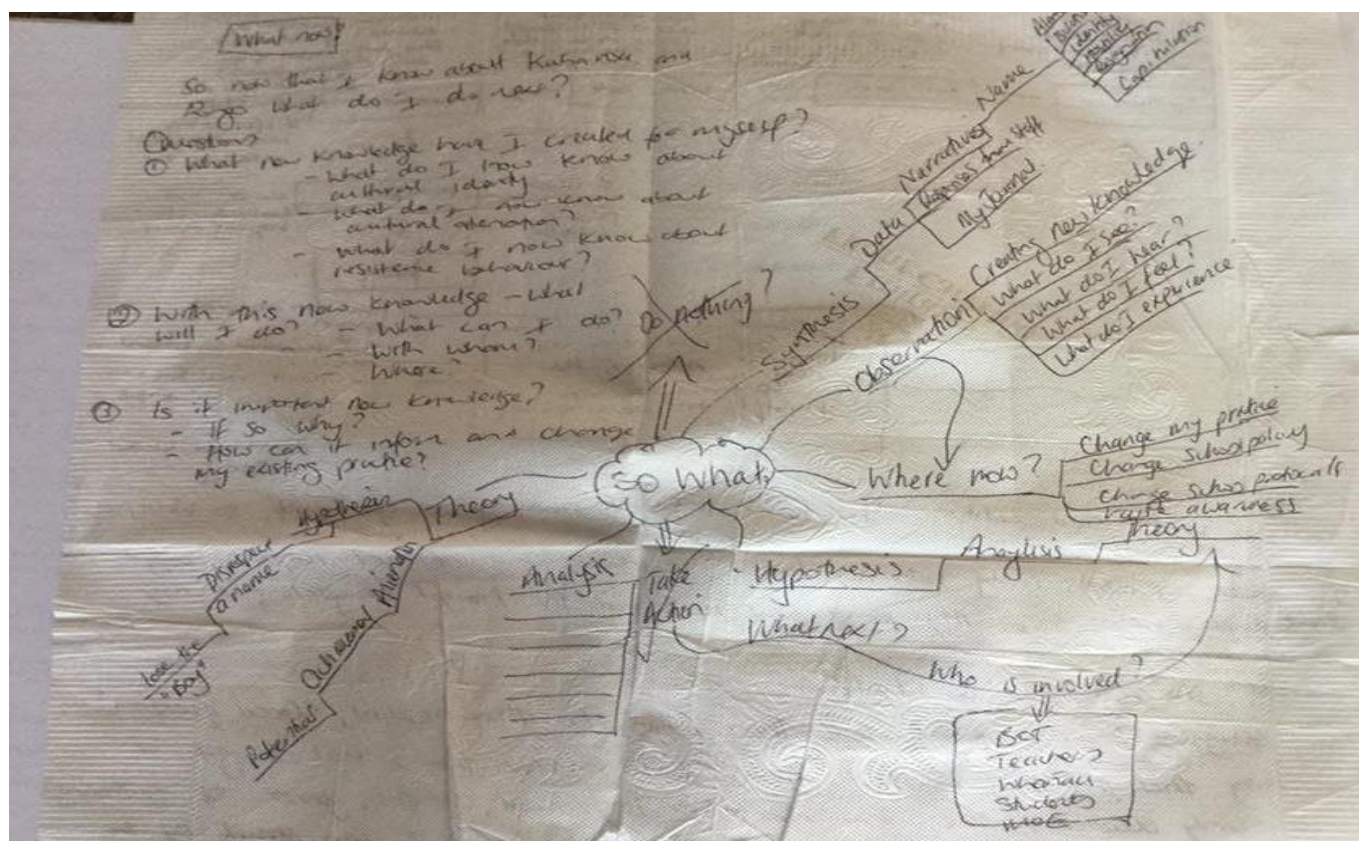


Figure 13. Action: What Do I Do Next? - Reflective Journal, Vol 5: 140412

Like many researchers currently working in an AotearoaNew Zealand context, my research contributed to the building of new paradigms and new knowledge in the field of

indigenous education. With the building of critical mass more reliable comparisons may be made, between the negative experiences of Māori students at secondary school, and the pedagogies principals might employ to mitigate those experiences.

SECTION 5 Tikanga Matatika/Ethical Considerations

The ethical issues surrounding the principal conducting autoethnographic, practice-based, insider research at Papatūānuku High School were complex. In relation to the Māori participants involved in this study not only was I a Pākehā woman but a/their principal as well. To ask to unpick their experiences of and in school was confronting for them and required mutually negotiated parameters to ensure trust, confidentiality and integrity. It was agreed in advance if participants' identity was to be made public. Where permission was not granted pseudonyms and composite characters were created to distance participants from their narrative and to assure anonymity. There is only one reference that had to be redacted to ensure a school's right to privacy was not compromised. Consideration was also given to the political implications of Pākehā researchers investigating the lives of Māori and the ethics informing such an approach were made clear and explicit within the context of the study. I was aware that while a nonindigenous researcher may well intend no harm, a lack of negotiated approaches to ensure cultural safety could result in immutable silence if their intentions were perceived by Māori as self-serving. For many nonindigenous researchers, who experienced positive and affirming treatment at school, there is a lack of awareness that a large majority of Māori (McKinley, 2000) did not. Bad memories of school and education were often painful or even impossible to share or discuss. For many Māori their experiences often resulted in a clearly articulated distrust in research that is not conducted by Māori for Māori. In this context research is described as one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999).

To mitigate this dilemma, I defined ethical research first and foremost as research that enhances the lives of the participants involved and then moves on to makes a contribution to better understandings of and between all those involved in the research act. I reminded participants at every opportunity that my research was oriented to focus on my learning as an educational leader as I explored my own professional practice and the changes, I could make to enhance the learning opportunities and successes for Māori students. I was careful to translate the complex language of the research into explanations that participants engage with and contribute to. When discussing the pitfalls of Westerncentric research and hegemonic

ideologies that resulted in the appropriation the life experiences of indigenous peoples with participants who were still students I used the metaphor of working in a group in class on a research project about ponies. You are the only person in the group who actually has a pony and so assist everyone you share all your knowledge but when your group hands the project in the girl who didn't have a pony still got the best mark. Of paramount importance to me, and to the ultimate success of my research, was to ensure that the research experience was built on trust and was of mutual benefit to all involved. I was cognisant of the ravages of colonisation on AotearoaNew Zealand's indigenous population and the high levels of mistrust of Western research methodologies that had developed because of the historical approach of othering research participants (Hepi, Foote, Marino, Rogers, & Taimona, 2007).

In designing my methodological approach, I made a conscious effort to avoid Westerncentric biases by creating a coherent hybrid model that employed a multiple methods approach. This approach afforded me the freedom to utilise new methodologies that favoured partnership, collaboration, and inclusion (Sergiovanni, 2015). I wanted my research to focus on my journey of discovery as I uncovered, and created new and personal meaning from, Māori knowledge/*mātauranga Māori*, and used that new knowledge to change and grow as an educational leader. I wanted my work to be truthful, honest, and to resonate with Māori and as well with my professional colleagues and community. My intention was not to appropriate Māori knowledge/*mātauranga Māori* and pass myself off as a so-called expert for academic gain or personal advancement in a research setting. Instead I presented my work as nothing more than my authentic Pākehā voice, articulated from my personal and professional experiences, as I came to understand my role in the education of Māori students.

The anecdotes I collected as data were the authentic voices of Māori I met in my day-to-day work as a principal. Until I had undertaken this study, their experiences had been invisible to me and their voices silent in my *hautūtanga/leadership* world. In their research partnership between the Crow Nation and Montana State University Simonds and Christopher (2013) describe the dilemma nonindigenous researchers faced when working with First Nation Peoples. The cultural void that existed was highlighted when:

In keeping with Western scientific methods, the interview transcripts were coded anonymously, not mentioning the names of the women who shared stories ... [however] ... when the elder is not named, the person receiving the story loses

their connection with the elder, thus losing an essential part of the impact of the story (p. 2187)

Rather than assuming, as the principal and researcher, that it was I who had the authoritative and expert voice (Bishop, 1999), I chose instead to trust the participants' voices and accept their expertise in relation to their lived experiences, and the meanings they assigned to those experiences. The key to the efficacy of this approach was trust; it was that sense of intimacy between us in the sharing of the anecdotes that had such an impact on me as the listener. I deliberately chose never to alter a story; first, because to do so would have been disrespectful and second, because analysis did not require its deconstruction. I believe this approach addressed Simonds and Christopher's (2013) criticism that "narrative analysis focuses on the researcher's interpretation of another's story, not the storyteller's interpretation" (p. 2188). Working collaboratively, I used their expert voices to craft the nonfiction narrative as an iteration of their anecdotes. Until a participant had agreed the nonfiction narrative reflected their authentic voice, portrayed their experience accurately, and would be heard in the way they intended, I did not share the narrative publicly.

The ethics of inclusion framed the approach and required me to ensure that at every juncture the participants felt fully engaged, safe, and able to give and rescind their consent or to withdraw at any time. Although this was an autoethnographic study detailing my personal experiences, I recognised there was still an *us* in the research relationship. As participants, we were all sharing intimate experiences which exposed us and made us vulnerable. Although my research intention was to write about myself and my experiences I could not do so in isolation. In revealing myself I was also revealing the participants in the broader context of our individual and collective experiences. Just as I was personally invested in my stories, the participants were equally invested in theirs. It was through the telling of their stories they made visible not only the realities of their day-to-day lives at school but perhaps the lives of many others whose voices were never heard. I constantly sought feedback from each participant as I crafted each of their nonfiction narratives to avoid any portrayal, they believed was a betrayal of our trust in each other. I continually emphasised that it was only by honouring our relational responsibilities that we could ethically present our lives in a complex and truthful way to our readers (Ellis, 2007).

Stories that were not included in the final selection process were either returned to the participant or stored securely as required by the University of Canterbury Ethics protocols. I had separate password protected files on my school computer and these files were duplicated

on an external hard-drive as backup. When it came time to negotiate the inclusion of the five nonfiction narratives to be included in the thesis, I discussed with the participants whether they wished to be identified or remain anonymous. I was careful to ensure that participants understood the implications if they became recognisable to readers. Four of the final five participants consented to being identified in the thesis. One participant sadly passed away before consent could be obtained to use the specifics of her anecdote. To address this sad occurrence and to protect that participant's privacy I produced a composite text (Tedlock, 2011). This involved using an amalgamation of characters, settings and plots from a range of anecdotes in that category to craft the nonfiction narrative. This approach ensured that the theme the original narrative explored was still included in the study and assisted me to avoid falsely appropriating knowledge that was not mine to share, or to inadvertently misrepresent the original participant.

Ethic of Care

Aho Matua/Teaching and Learning

As I sought ways to change aspects of my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice, to incorporate pedagogies that would recognise the importance of Tikanga Māori/*Māori customs, protocols and procedures*, in relation to Māori student success, I made a conscious ethical shift away from me as the so-called expert, to me as the learner. The ethic of care that underpins all essential teaching and aho matua/*learning* relationships in education was a significant consideration for me when I designed the ethical framework for this study. I made the ethic of care manifest by addressing three significant aspects of ethics (See Figure 14): procedural ethics, practice-based ethics, and relational ethics (Ellis, 2007; Guillemin & Gillan, 2004).

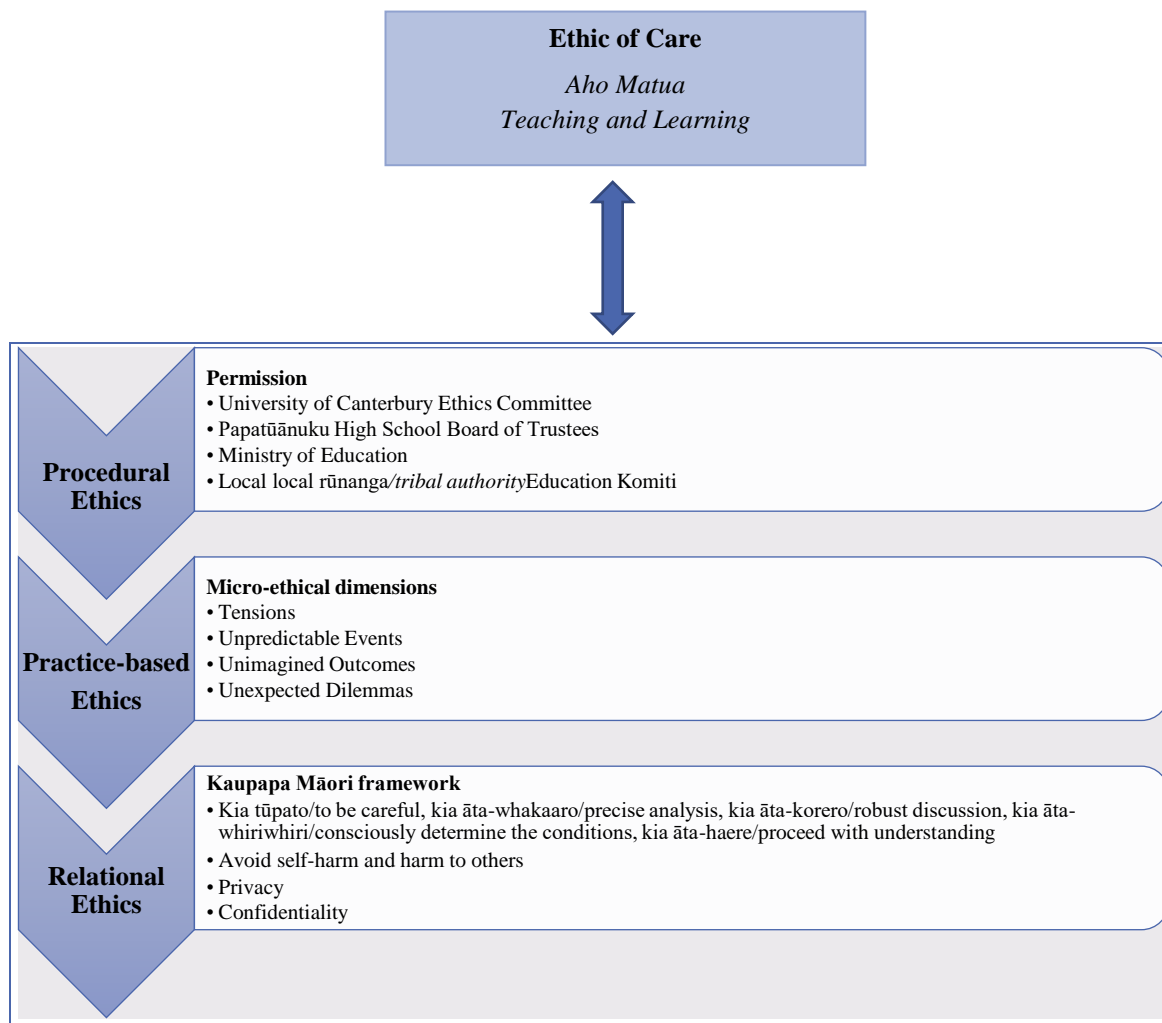


Figure 14. *Ethic of Care: Ethical Considerations.*

Procedural Ethics

From a procedural perspective, I faced the ethical conundrum of being the principal of Papatūānuku High School and a researcher undertaking practice-based research in her own school. I made these dual roles explicit when I sought the required ethical approval from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee (HEC) (See Appendix A), the Papatūānuku High School Board of Trustees (See Appendix B); and due to the two significant earthquakes in Canterbury in 2010 and 2011, the Ministry of Education (See Appendix C). I learnt that not having ethical approval from the local rūnanga/iwi authority was construed as whakakake/arrogance. A kaupapa Māori/Māori principles framework, like any other research framework, required ethical tūtohu/permission before any research commenced. My intrinsic, Westerncentric approach had resulted in an unintentional but never-the-less significant slight to the local rūnanga/iwi authority. In remedying this oversight I learnt that from a Māori

perspective there was an expectation that I would be *kia tūpato/careful* to consider in the first instance the value or potential benefit of my research project to and for Māori, that I would undertake *kia āta-whakaaro/precise analysis* paying attention to the cultural contexts and language of the participants, and that I would engage in robust *kia āta-korero/discussion* about the practical, ethical, and spiritual aspirations of the participants. I learned that including aspects of a kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* research methodology to my study required me to work with participants, to *kia āta-whiriwhiri/consciously determine* the conditions which allow the research to proceed with agreed and mutual *kia āta-haere/understandings*.

As part of the formal procedures for gaining ethical approval I prepared a letter (See Appendix D) for participants inviting them to be part of my research project. In the letter I explained I would like to write a nonfiction narrative with them as the main character and that the narrative would be based on an event that had happened to them and that they had then shared with me as an anecdote. The letter required informed consent and their signature. I sat down with each participant and went through my statement of intent (See Appendix E) which detailed the purpose of the research, the use of and publication of all data relating to them, and what I hoped to achieve through my research. Because I was including school students as participants in my study, I also provided a letter of permission and a statement of consent for their *whānau/family* (See Appendix F).

I also considered issues around participants who might have felt *whakamā/embarrassed* or *pānekeke/unsafe* when invited to speak to me because I was both principal and researcher. I initiated a system of confidential *whakaruruhau/mentoring* so if participants were worried or anxious and felt, they could not share the problem with me personally they had a safe third party to speak with. I also addressed issues around confidentiality and the safe storage of all confidential information collected and produced during the study. Access to participant data was limited to me, the participant involved, and my supervisors. All data was stored on my school laptop which was password protected and backed up both on an external hard drive and in the Cloud. I used reflective journals which were only accessible to me and my supervisors. Participants were always given a copy of anything I wrote about them and could make comments or change details if they wished to do so. Because the writing was a collaborative effort and participants were joint authors, I negotiated with them an embargo, agreeing they were free to share their narratives once my thesis was published.

Practice-Based Ethics

The second ethical consideration was the implications of managing the unpredictable, the unimagined and the unexpected events I encountered during my day-to-day practice that involved the participants outside the parameters of the research study. Guillemin and Gillam (2004) explain that “being reflexive in an ethical sense means acknowledging and being sensitised to the micro-ethical dimensions of research practice and in doing so, being alert to and prepared for ways of dealing with the ethical tensions that arise” (p. 278). One ethical issue that I had not fully anticipated was the privacy of individuals or groups the participants identified and discussed in their stories. To overcome this dilemma, when necessary I either altered the setting of my nonfiction narrative or invented composite characters to ensure anonymity was preserved. What was not altered in any way was the essence of what the anecdotes conveyed regarding the issues, conflicts, and themes the participants had shared.

Another unanticipated ethical dilemma I faced was the creation of new self-knowledge that forced me to confront my own privilege, inadequacies, and arrogance. This was a painful process made more difficult by the need to share that new knowledge publicly in a research forum (LaBoskey, 2004a). Self-study is underpinned by a commitment to the production of new knowledge and self-truth, but little attention has been paid to the ethical dilemma faced by the researcher in the final rendering of self-study research (Newkirk 1996). The autoethnographer faces an ethical conundrum, that of choosing what to share and what not to share in the publication of the research. As a researcher, failing to record the truth that lies in the data, in order to avoid personal exposure, is an act of sedition. The true essence of self-study is to publish and be damned and this requires of the researcher honesty, humility, integrity, and courage.

Relational Ethics

The third ethical consideration was relational. Autoethnography requires the researcher to follow the established etiquette of ethical research when the study includes other participants. I made explicit to all participants that I was the subject of the study and that I would be exploring changes I might make to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practices to build a culturally safe school. Our initial discussions centred around why I had selected them as participants and why their unique status as indigenous people/*tangata whenua* made them integral to the study. My paramount ethical concern was to ensure that when participants recalled events and interactions in their lives, they did not experience trauma because of that sharing. I was cognisant of the need to ensure that participants felt they had control over the research process and a sense of personal autonomy over the inclusion, or exclusion, of their data. I negotiated with participants

the ways we would manipulate the data to avoid unwanted intrusions into their private and personal worlds. Issues of personal privacy were discussed in relation to participants' disclosures, staff employed at Papatūānuku High School, my position as principal, and my role as the research subject. Working collaboratively with participants I developed protocols to ensure that all stakeholders felt their data was protected and they were personally safe throughout the process.

I also developed strategies to build trust with the participants' whānau/families as well. I sought the permission of the student participants to meet personally with them and whānau/family, most often in a neutral venue like a café or library. The ethics of honouring the Māori concept of *kanohi ki te kanohi/face-to-face* was crucial to my credibility as a researcher and central in my role as Principal. Being present in a physical and not just a metaphysical sense (Pihama et al., 2002) helped me to prove my commitment not just to my research but to the participants as well. I also wanted to share the nonfiction narratives with whānau/family so that they had confidence in the authenticity of the writing. Over cups of coffee at local cafes, I shared my writing and listened to their family stories/*kōrero paki* that captured both their deep pride in and clear aspirations for their children. Although I was without ancestral links to the participants, as a researcher, I still had significant ethical responsibilities, commitments, and obligations fundamental to the wider interests of the participants and their whānau/family (Metge, 1990).

Another significant ethical issue I had to address was the unavoidable power differential between me, in my role of principal, and the participants, four of whom were students, one of whom was a staff member, one of whom was a parent, and one of whom was a board of trustee's member. As mentioned above, in our initial discussions about my research intentions I explained I was researching myself and not them. I explained the important role they had as co-participants in the research process, and how integral their contributions would be in the process of gathering data. I made a deliberate effort not to present myself as a friend, but rather their principal who was concerned with improving the culture of our school environment for the benefit of all. I explained my role was not to be a problem solver but to be a researcher. My focus would be on observation, the asking of questions, seeking answers to those questions and sharing my conclusions with them and others. I made clear that research was about truth, and that once uncovered the truth would be told in an honest and open manner.

I also wanted to avoid any criticism that my research defined Māori as Other (Pihama et al., 2002) or that my analysis exploited or rendered participants' contributions in a way that resulted in a loss of their mana/status, or a misappropriation of the mātauranga Māori/Māori knowledge they shared with me. This was essential to avoiding acts of seduction (See Figure 16) as discussed above and to ensuring my research in no way contributed to yet another form of colonial misrepresentation (Hill, R. & May, 2013).

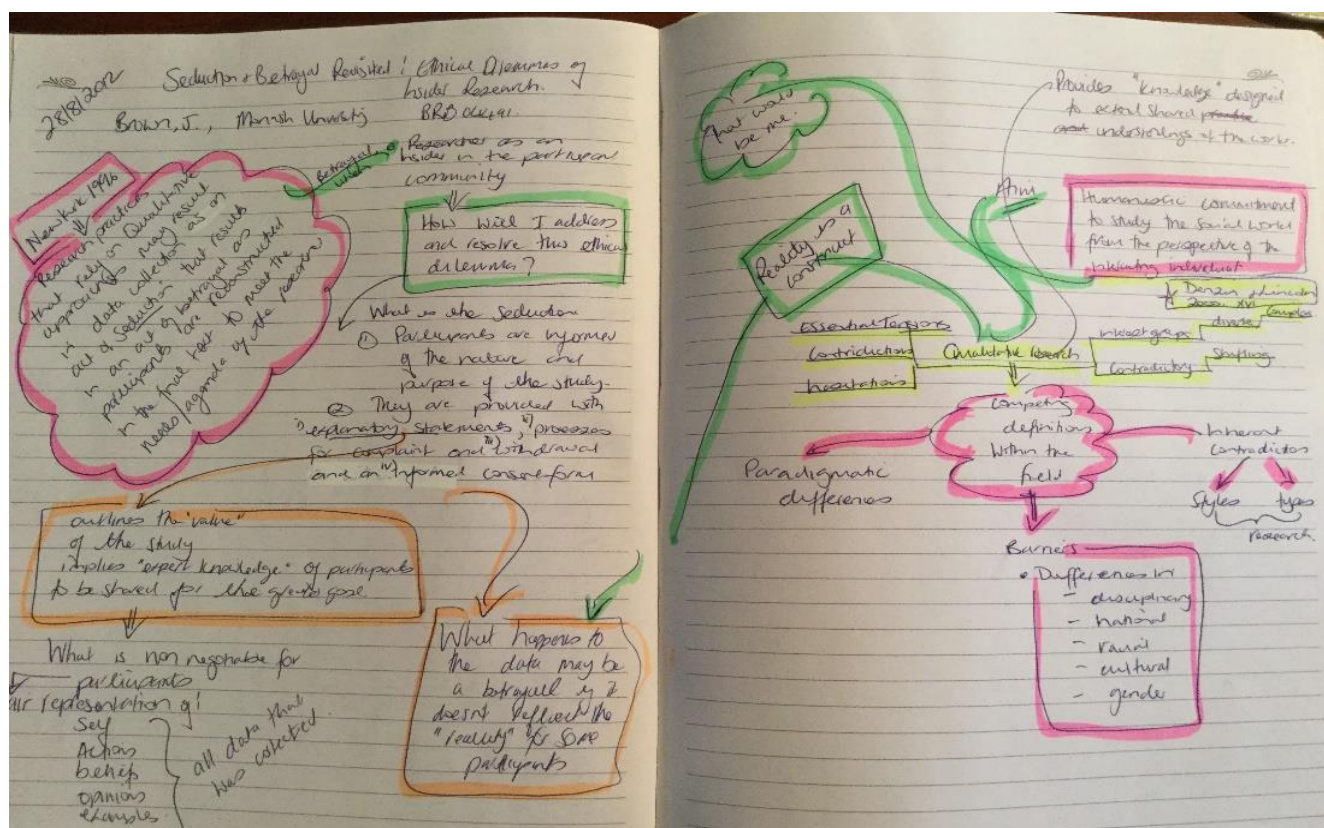


Figure 15. Avoiding Acts of Seduction: Reflective Journal, Vol 4: 120828.

Another ethical issue for me as principal was my genuine fondness for each of the participants, particularly because I had known three of the five participants since they had arrived at Papatūānuku High School as twelve-year-old year 9 students. I was aware of my ethical obligations to ensure the psychological and emotional safety of all participants and so by working together we set clear parameters and made explicit my role as principal and as researcher; and their role as a participant and an individual. (Murray & Lawrence, 2000). We discussed issues of peer pressure should students not involved insist on being told what was being discussed. Each participant had identified a trusted adult who they could go to if they needed to share or resolve personal or ethical issues. The ethical imperative of not overstepping the mark, of doing no harm, and of taking genuine care of all the participants was pivotal to the

success of the research design, given our proximity within the school environment. In an educational setting, there are clearly articulated professional standards, expectations, and codes of conduct that dictated the ethical parameters for me as principal (Robinson, 2010) and researcher. I discussed and made explicit to all participants and whānau/family my duty of care to them and through conversations/korero we devised strategies for collaboration and the co-construction of our personal stories. We agreed guidelines for the confidentiality, privacy, and informed consent when sharing our stories and nonfiction narratives to ensure we all felt safe during the research process.

Credibility as a Nonindigenous Researcher

A final and unexpected ethical consideration was my credibility as a nonindigenous researcher employing a kaupapa Māori/Māori principles research approach. The political implications are significant from a Māori perspective, given the imperialistic research approaches of the past. My research design was made explicit and I clearly articulated my position that I was not yet another White, middle class woman intent on appropriating an indigenous research methodology, to study an indigenous population for my own academic gain. I did not ignore the importance of developing positive relationships with local Māori as a precursor to building trust with participants and whānau/family. When I realised the ethical implications around my failure to make initial contact with te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga Education Committee to seek their permission I discussed this omission with my senior supervisor who suggested I made arrangement to meet the chair of the te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga Education Committee to address the error.

As a researcher I learned how easily credibility is lost and the importance to Māori of open and honest discussion around issues relating to their tamariki/children. I had underestimated the depth of feeling behind the rūnanga's stance that any research conducted must never cause damage or hurt to participants engaged in the process. I also learnt about the importance of gaining whakaaetanga/agreement before any proposed research began particularly by a nonindigenous researcher was within a Māori context considered a privilege and not a right. My reading of R. Hill and May (2013) provided me with a timely reminder that "research standing is not determined by the apparent intellectual stature of the researcher ... or at least not solely, but rather by the calibre of their relationships, and the consistency and efficacy of their work with Māori over the years" (p. 52).

As discussed in Dimension 7 above Māori are not inclined to participate in research activities unless there is clear evidence that researchers are motivated by a desire to use the work to enhance Māori aims and aspirations (Bishop, 1999). I did not profess to be an expert in *taha Māori/things Māori*, as my oversight of seeking *rūnanga/local iwi authority* permission had emphasised. Nor did I begin the study with some notion that I alone could solve an apparent problem or that I was best place to fix something that was broken in our education system. My motivation for undertaking this study stemmed from my desire to work with and for my community to effect positive change and enhance the educational outcomes of Māori students at Papatūānuku High School. I felt I could do this most effectively by examining my own professional practice to ascertain whether my embedded *hautūtanga/leadership* behaviours and practices had a negative impact on the Māori student achievement; and if it did what and how could I change my practice to mitigate that negative impact?

SECTION 6 Summary

Being a research nomad and having the freedom to fashion a theoretical framework to explore aspects of my professional *hautūtanga/leadership* practices was a unique experience, given that I was undertaking this research journey in my own institution amongst my colleagues and the students I had ultimate responsibility for. The journey was at times uncomfortable and fraught with personal tensions as I struggled to make sense of the paradox that was my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice. In the first instance, I was recognised as a successful educational leader; it was acknowledged that I led a successful school and my community lauded what appeared to be our collective accomplishments. But what I discovered hiding in plain sight in our 2010 achievement data was an anomaly in the achievement data for Māori students when compared to their Pākehā peers that was so devastating I was forced to question everything I knew about principal *hautūtanga/leadership* and student success.

The realisation that Māori students at Papatūānuku High School were not achieving to their full potential and that the achievement disparities (Chapple, Jefferies, & Walker, 1997) that existed for Māori nationally were replicated in in our own achievement data shocked me. I designed a research project to investigate changes I could make to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practices that would take into account Kaupapa Māori/Māori principles approaches. I wanted to explore the impact such an approach would have on Māori student achievement at Papatūānuku High School. I did not begin my research study with a hypothesis about why I

believed our Māori students were consistently out-performed by their Pākehā peers but chose instead to use a constructivist approach and develop grounded theory as I investigated my *hautūtanga/leadership* role in raising Māori student achievement (Pfeifer, 2005). I employed bricolage and developed a coherent hybrid model which included the seven dimensions I used to capture data from multiple sources. I chose autoethnography as the vehicle to share my research because in form and function such writing lends itself to self-observation and reflexive investigation in the context of ethnographic field work (Maréchal, 2010).

As an insider-researcher I collected data during my working day, from the anecdotes Māori students told me, their school achievement and pastoral data from KAMAR, and the conversations I had with participants' friends and their *whānau/family*. I recorded my thoughts and reflections in my reflective journals, later mining them as another primary data source. I crafted nonfiction narratives which I interrogated using a tripartite analysis model I developed for that purpose. I wrote personal memoirs to link my thinking and personal experiences to the events I observed. I crafted the memoirs to help me make sense of my feelings about the issues the anecdotes raised and the themes that dropped out of the inductive analysis I applied to the nonfiction narratives I had created. The tripartite analytical framework I developed assisted me to drill down into the data and critically reflect on the actions, reactions, understanding and misunderstanding that resulted in a clash of cultural understandings between the participants and the antagonists captured in the nonfiction narratives.

For the first time in my professional career I recognised my inherent deficit thinking around Māori, in relation to school and learning. I wanted to be the type of educational leader Māori students and their *whānau/families* respected, one who could confidently operate in a culturally safe and appropriate manner. I posited grounded theories born out of my observations of mine and my colleagues' professional practices to test my assumptions about the nature of alternative *hautūtanga/leadership* strategies. I journaled my experiences as I adopted specific practices to address the absence of bicultural approaches, I believed underpinned the disconnect participants felt at Papatūānuku High School. An example of one theory I tested was if I used *te reo Māori/Māori language* greetings not only when I met Māori students but Pākehā as well while undertaking my day-to-day work at school it would create a warmer relationship with all students. I included reflexive inquiry to test my thinking and actions as I grappled with developing *hautūtanga/leadership* strategies that would resonate more fluidly with the expectations, needs and aspirations of Māori. I was unsettled by a developing ambivalence I felt about the universal claim made in New Zealand that state schools offered a level playing

field and all students had equal opportunity of access (Battiste, 2011). Both the data I collected and my personal experiences throughout the research process needed further interrogation if I was to formalise a response to what I saw as an increasingly significant ethical dilemma in my principal *hautūtanga/leadership* practices.

Practice-based research brings with it significant ethical and moral implications. I considered the requirements for an ethic of care in educational research. I devised a model to express the steps I took to ensure that the implications of procedural ethics, practice-based ethics, cross-cultural ethics and the relational ethics of bricolage were at the forefront of the research design. I addressed my lack of detailed knowledge and understanding of Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles* by articulating my concerns to my supervisors, the participants and their *whānau/families*, and eventually with two members of te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga Education Committee. I ensured that I maintained a transparent and ethical process for the triangulation of the data I collected. Māori academics have expressed concerns about the accountability of researchers, and who or what controls their creation and distribution of knowledge about Māori (Bishop, 1996). The aim of my research was not to control, but to identify barriers experienced by Māori in a school setting; and then adopt culturally appropriate pedagogies to mitigate those barriers. This required immersion into a culture that was not my own and accepting challenges to my default Pākehā settings: my inherent ways of acting, thinking, and behaving. As a nonindigenous researcher my primary concern from an ethical perspective was that my research made explicit and easily accessible, *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies based upon the principles of cultural safety. To be truly ethical research my work had to be of maximum benefit and usefulness to all participants, myself included.

As an ethical researcher, I ensured I repeatedly returned to participants to record their reactions to my writing and to receive feedback from them. I hoped that in sharing my experiences through this research study it would help participants to have the courage to share their experiences as well. I felt that this form of collaboration was essential to the validity of the final versions of the nonfiction narratives I produced. The credibility of the final versions of the nonfiction narrative was always a contestable backdrop to my work, which relied heavily on shared perceptions and sometimes tortuous pathways to agreed understandings. In sharing with participants my perceptions of how their experiences had impacted on and changed me, as a person, a principal and a researcher, I recognised that in some instances changes occurred in them as well. This was best illustrated to me during a conversation with one participant about

the theme of *invisibility*, and just who it was who was invisible in our school. The comment that stuck in my mind was one I recorded in my reflective journal and rediscovered two years later was made by Mel te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga representative on the Papatūānuku High School board of trustees. She accompanied me as a board member to Cyprus, where I presented a paper on my research study. When I had finished, and we were walking out of the conference venue she turned to me and said, “It has never occurred to me before, but we are invisible to you ... (Pākehā) ... we are invisible at school even when we are there right in front of you (Reflective Journal: Volume 111, p. 56).

As I said above, knowing is not enough however! It was at this point in my study that I understood for the first time that the moral and ethical implications of such invisibility underpin the necessity for all school leaders to consciously employ culturally safe *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies that ensures all students are visible and safe in our institutions. The cornerstone of equity (Van den Branden, Van Avermaet, Van Houtte, 2010) in education is the right of all Māori students to succeed as Māori. I tease out this statement in Chapter 4, where I introduce Rongo-a-whare and explore the theme of identity and its implications for students who choose not to leave their korowai/*cloak*; their Ahurea Tuakiri/*identity* at the school gate as they enter the school each day.

Ka hikitia! Ka hikitia!

Hiki, hikitia!

Whakarewa ki runga rawa

Herea kia kore e hoki whakamuri mai

Poua atu Te Pūmanawa Māori

He Mana Tikanga

Me Te Uri o Māia

Poipoia ngā mokopuna

Ngā rangatira mo āpōpō

Ka tihei! Tihei mauriora!

Ka hikitia! Ka hikitia!

Encourage and support!

And raise it to its highest level!

Ensure that high achievement is maintained

*Hold fast to our Māori potential
Our cultural advantage
And our inherent capability
Nurture our young generation
The leaders of the future
Behold, we move onwards and upwards!*

CHAPTER 4 AHUREA TUAKIRI/CULTURAL IDENTITY

SECTION 1 My Name is Rongo-a-whare. But You Can Call Me Sam!

Nonfiction Narrative [Reflective Journal, Vol 4:120828]

I have a passion for teaching and learning and have always loved being in the classroom where you can just forget about the politics of education and just have fun with students and learning. In my experience when you are in the connected learning space and it is just you and your class, that's where the magic happens. When there is no one there dictating how you can teach, judging your performance, measuring the students' success every five minutes, as far as I am concerned that's when you're in the zone as a teacher. It's when the students are relaxed and free to be themselves and when real relationships develop, and the teacher is simply one of the group, that is when teaching and learning/ako becomes symbiotic.

That was why it was such a personal jolt to me when Steve, the senior academic Dean, came up to me in the staffroom one morning and said, "I spoke with a Year 10 Māori student this morning, she was angry because she had been thrown out of class for disrespecting her teacher."

"That's interesting," I replied, "Go on."

"Well," he replied, looking really perplexed, "She asked if I would change her name on the class roll."

"Change her name?" I replied, a little taken aback. "That's a radical thing to want to do. Do you know why?"

Steve thought for a moment and then, in the confidential tone of a man used to being discrete he replied, "She is having difficulty with her English teacher, and says it will help to stop the raruraru/ trouble."

I raised my eyebrows and stared at Steve, "Tell me more," I said matter-of-factly. I knew Steve was always motivated by his desire to help students and advocate for them whenever he could. I sensed he was, at the same time, conflicted as he did not want to undermine or compromise a colleague.

"She says she feels embarrassed and angry when her teacher mispronounces her name and that the other students are laughing at her because of it," He explained. Fighting a rising sense of frustration, I asked, "What did you say to her?"

"I told her I'd think about it and see her tomorrow," he replied.

"So, what are you going to do?" I asked, raising my eyebrows slightly.

"I think it might be a good idea for her to talk with someone other than me about it," he ventured.

I smiled at him and replied, "I think I'd like to talk to her about it."

Steve looked relieved. "I'll leave it with you then."

I felt disheartened that Rongo-a-whare had asked to change her name because I didn't think it was a positive solution for the problem she described to Steve. Sadly, it took me another three days to finally catch up with Rongo-a-whare due to her persistent truancy. This should have given me a clue about her sense of satisfaction with Papatūānuku High School. When Rongo-a-whare finally arrived at my office door she looked apprehensive.

"Kia ora Rongo-a-whare," I smiled, "It's good to see you."

She smiled, relaxing a little at my obvious pleasure in seeing her.

"Kia ora, whaea," she replied, as she stood hesitantly in the doorway.

Pushing my Chair back from my desk I stood and walked to the table next to the window at the other end of my office. "Have a seat," I said, indicating the Chair nearest the door. "I just wanted to have a quick catch up with you, if that's ok."

With a hint of a frown Rongo-a-whare sat down. She eyed me expectantly.

"You're not in trouble," I smiled, as I sat down in the Chair opposite her. She didn't look convinced. I sighed inwardly. Why is it, I thought to myself, that most students invariably think they are in trouble if they are called to my office? I would hazard a guess it is because they didn't see me, all they saw was the principal and the principal meant trouble was looming.

"Well," I said lightly, breaking the silence "How's school going?"

Rongo-a-whare shifted uneasily in her Chair, "I can bring a note whaea."

Again, my sense of disappointment nudged at me. "What do you mean?" I asked.

Avoiding eye contact, she replied, "I was sick whaea ... just that Mum forgot to write me a note."

"Is that why you have been missing class?" I asked.

Into the extended silence, I said, "Mr. Kersey tells me you want to change your name."

"Yeah." She replied. "I swung by see him last week about it."

"I was surprised you wanted to do that Rongo-a-whare," I replied evenly.

"Especially when you have such a beautiful name." There was a pregnant pause. I bit my lip to stop myself from jumping in and demanding an explanation.

Finally, Rongo-a-whare looked up and said tentatively, "I'm just over it whaea."

“Over it?” I respond, genuinely surprised.

Rongo-a-whare thought for a moment and then continued, “I’m just ... like ... I’m just sick of all the raruraru whaea.” She pressed her lips together and looked away embarrassed.

I concentrated on saying nothing and waited quietly, giving her some space to gather her thoughts. Rongo-a-whare shifted uncomfortably in her Chair. When she realised I was not going to comment, she ventured, “You just wouldn’t get it whaea.” Looking past me, out through the large window that framed my desk, she added, “The teachers don’t get it either.”

Leaning forward, I said, “Well why don’t you try me. I’m pretty sure there’s nothing you could tell me that would surprise me, after 30 years in this job.”

Rongo-a-whare frowned. “Why do you care what the deal is with me changing my name whaea?” she asked.

For a fleeting moment I saw, reflected in Rongo-a-whare’s liquid amber eyes, that resigned ātetenga/resistance, so often present in conversations with Year 10 girls. Then as if she had made a conscious decision, she looked down at her feet and said, “It’s my Form Teacher whaea, she doesn’t see me. I’m right there and she’s looking right at me ... but she doesn’t even see me!”

I inhaled slowly and sighed into the growing silence.

Rongo-a-whare raised her eyes slowly to meet mine and said, “She hates me whaea.”

I smiled, masking my rising anger and said, “I find that hard to believe, what’s not to like?”

Rongo-a-whare didn’t return my smile or acknowledge my weak attempt at humour. “You might think that,” she responded shaking her head, “But she doesn’t. She thinks I’m bad and she thinks I’m a stirrer.”

“Why do you think that?” I asked, genuinely taken aback.

“Like, she says things to shut me up in class. And she doesn’t let me sit with my mates.” Rongo-a-whare responded. “Then, when she calls the roll, ... well every time, she calls me rong-go, ... and ... and everyone laughs. And then ... they say, ... rong-go, but they don’t stop there ... then they say, ... rong-go the drong-go, ... and then, ... well then they all laugh whaea.”

I watched as this strong, confident, articulate, smart girl struggled not to cry. I asked quietly, “So how long has this been going on?”

"Like, most of the year, whaea." Rongo-a-whare replied quietly "I tried to ignore it at first. But then the Pākehā kids started to call me 'rong-go the drong-go', outside of class ... like at the canteen and stuff, whaea. I'd tell them, 'that's not my name!' But they'd just laugh at me whaea and do it more!"

I thought for a moment and then asked, "What did your Mum say when you told her?"

"Ooh, I didn't tell her whaea, 'cause, she'd be pukukino as, and that's never going to be good ... auē taukuri ē," she smiled.

I smiled, "So, what should we do? ... because changing your name is huge, it's your name, and it's a beautiful name."

Rongo-a-whare looked at me, as if I was just a bit thick. "See that's the thing with you teachers, you Pākehā teachers just don't get it." She looked away, refusing to make eye contact again.

I felt like I had been slapped! Me, wearing my good intentions like a badge. I suddenly realised how patronised Rongo-a-whare must have felt when I simply told her she couldn't change her name. Couldn't change her name because I didn't think it was a good idea. How easy it was for me to think I understood how she felt; simply because I had read a few books on indigenous education, written a few essays on cultural safety and passed an assessment or two that proved, from a Pākehā perspective, what a culturally sensitive and safe educator I was! In that moment my arrogance did feel like a physical slap, and the irony of it made my cheeks burn.

"It's OK whaea," She said, looking up, "They always get it right at home." She chuckled.

A cultural abyss suddenly opened between me and Rongo-a-whare, an abyss that had never existed for me before that moment. I suddenly realised that I had never considered that home wouldn't be exactly like school. I really did live in one world and she really did live in two.

I felt angry that people here at school thought it was funny to tease her about her name and didn't know or care how much that hurt her. They saw her as fair game in a world where you got bullied if you were seen as different. I felt embarrassed at my arrogance; embarrassed that I had assumed I understood her reality and knew how she felt.

Rongo-a-whare said quietly into the silence, "My Nanny gave me my name whaea. So, it's not just mine, ... it's hers too, ... and others before her. My name is part of my whakapapa and it's a whānau taonga whaea."

The silence that followed threatened to engulf me as I struggled to find the words, any words that could make what I had said, and what she had experienced, right. Rongo-a-whare broke the silence again. “I get pukukino when people say my name wrong, like its pōrearea whaea.”

She took a deep breath and continued, “Whaea, I’d rather be called something else, otherwise it’s like I don’t care! Like I think it’s OK for them to laugh, ... but it’s not!”

There was another long pause. Finally, sighing I said, “I think I’d like you to have a chat with Sheldon’s Mum. She’s the rūnanga rep on the school’s board of Trustees, and when she was your age she came to this school as well. She might be able to help us.”

Rongo-a-whare smiled, perhaps just giving me the benefit of the doubt.

SECTION 2 Ahurea Tuakiri /Cultural Identity

Untangling the Threads

I begin this chapter with the nonfiction narrative I wrote after hearing Rongo-a-whare’s anecdote about the bullying (Foster, G., 2008) she was experiencing from Pākehā students who thought it was funny when Pākehā teachers continually mispronounced her name. This unintentional consequence of Pākehā monolingualism resulted in Rongo-a-whare feeling disrespected by her teachers and bullied by her Pākehā peers. Her account of the frustration she felt embodied the anecdotes of many of the participants who shared similar experiences that spoke of feelings of resentment that their Māori identity was subjugated by dominant Pākehā imperatives of culture (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). I then explored the idea of identity to assist me to define the term in relation to my experiences and the experiences of the participants in the study. The struggle Māori students faced at Papatūānuku High School to assert their own ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* in a positive way was one of the first major themes to emerge from the anecdotes that became the data collected. I moved to a discussion of that phenomenon in relation to the experiences many young Māori rangatahi/*teenagers* have in asserting their own ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* when attending state schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. Following on from the notion of struggle I investigated the importance for Māori students that educational professionals know and understand how important identity is for developing powerful relationships (Berryman, Eley, Ford, & Egan, 2015). In the penultimate section I investigate the correlation between strong ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* and confident connected Māori rangatahi/*teenagers*, who have a sense deep of self and significant resilience.

Finally, I close this chapter with an explanation of how confronting I found it to have my assumptions, deficit thinking models, and entrenched cultural perspectives laid bare and the application of that new learning.

What's in a Name?

Immediately a child is born into a family, two questions are asked of the new parents; what did the baby weigh? and what have you called him/her? Within most societies the naming of a child goes far beyond personal preference or serendipitous decisions. Names do more than identify or set siblings apart; they help to shape a child in relation to heredity, ritual, custom, tradition, behaviours, values, aspirations, and beliefs of their parents. Dion (1983) explores that idea further arguing “the parents’ choice of a name for their child can have an influence on the development of the personality of the child” (p. 247). Deluzain (1996) describes the naming of a child as a symbolic contract between the society and the individual, confirming “the child’s existence and formally acknowledges a collective responsibility for that individual’s health and wellbeing” (p. 10). M. H. Durie (1994) locates that sense of collective responsibility within the structure of *whānau/family* with its strong underpinning of kinship ties, shared common ancestry, and cohesive environment within which certain responsibilities and obligations are maintained. G. H. Smith (1997) also argues that an integral part of Māori identity and culture is the collective responsibility of *whānau/family* to ensure the health and wellbeing of every individual, and that it is nurtured within the Māori context of kinship/*whānaungatanga*.

I reflected on my own understandings of identity, on who and how I was. Within a Pākehā social framework names carry with them arbitrary connotations depending on social class, ethnicity or sociocultural background. AotearoaNew Zealand is not an egalitarian society (Nolan, 2007) and a dominant Pākehā world view often attributes value to a name which leads to implicit assumptions about the individual bearing that name (Keller & Franzak, 2016). Weeks (1990) illustrates the subtle difference in Māori and Pākehā world views with her emphasis on the personal and the individual. She argues that:

Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your relationships, your complex involvement with others and in the modern world (p. 88).

As a colony of the British Empire AotearoaNew Zealand inherited a rigid nineteenth century Westerncentric class system that it carried like baggage into what Weeks (1990) describes as the modern world. It was my experience growing up in a White-middle-class family that those with counterfeit social and cultural authority had the power to assign positive or negative connotations to the names of individuals (Seeman, 1983). To illustrate this point, I have selected three names familiar to me as a child, the first the Pākehā name Elizabeth. In my middle-class Pākehā family the name Elizabeth personified the prestige of the British royal family and implied natural intelligence, beauty, wealth, and privilege. The second, the Māori name Whina held little relevance to our family except the connotation of protest, dissidence, and disruption associated with the 1975 hikoi/*land march* Whina Cooper led to Parliament. The third name, Horiana, was the name a friend gave her daughter and was at that time a problematic name because it could be shortened to Hori. This derogatory term was often used in my childhood to describe or tease Māori who were perceived to be dirty or untrustworthy. Confronting these memories as an adult and accepting they were racist imperatives was a painful experience but one I could only avoid if I were content to perpetuate the status quo.

SECTION 3 In Search of a Definition

In searching for a definition of identity that would reflect both my life experiences and the life experiences of the participants in this study I began with Gecas (1982), who argued identity “focuses on the meanings comprising the self as an object, gives structure and content to self-concept, and anchors the self to social systems” (p. 4). I also searched out indigenous writing which explored the concept of identity. Jahnke (2002) was a useful beginning point because she argues that:

“For the indigenous peoples of AotearoaNew Zealand, a secure identity as Maori is inextricably bound to an intimate and interactive relationship with tribal kin and the flora and fauna, rivers and mountains of ancestral lands” (p. 503).

Māori theorists discuss identity in terms of whakapapa/*genealogical linkages*, and a sense of place and belonging (Borell, 2005). Ward (2006) argues that for many Māori children their sense of individual identity is secondary to the dominant social identity that is based on whānau/*family*, hapū/*extended family*, and iwi/*tribe*. R. Walker (1989) refers to the concept of

taha Maori to describe Maori identity, arguing it is a social concept based on lineage. He asserts that genealogical whakapapa/*genealogical linkages* through mythology, tradition, and history, where Gods, ancestors and living people are all intrinsically connected, is fundamental to Māori identity.

I found Moeke-Pickering's (1996) definition helpful because she built on the concepts captured above, arguing that:

identities develop and change over time, are multi-faceted and shape one's perception and judgement of the self and others. People such as parents, family and peers play a major role in the shaping of identities. Identity formation and maintenance are influenced by one's ethnicity, politics, location and environment. The concept of identity manifests itself not only at the level of the individual but also at the level of societies and interactions between groups (p. 1).

Within the context of this study, and my search for bicultural understandings, I sought to create my own definition of identity (Theoharis, 2008) seeing it as a collaborative co-construction of an individual's fundamental understanding of self that begins at birth as an intimate act between parents in the first instance and then with the wider whānau/*family*. As a result of that familial act of intimacy the individual develops a deep sense of self (Yeh & Hwang, 2000) an acute sense of belonging, and an enduring knowledge of whakapapa/*genealogical linkages*. Such an identity construction cannot, however, escape the inevitable shaping by politics, location, and environment (Walker, R., 1989).

SECTION 4 The Assertion of Ahurea Tuakiri/Cultural Identity

Within the existing Westerncentric social construct that underpins contemporary AotearoaNew Zealand society names still imply certain values, whether implicit or explicit, and have implications for the life chances or challenges an individual student experience. It is the meanings attributed to names by the dominant culture that convey distinctions, carry weight and define ways of knowing (Riley & Ungerleider, 2012). Within a Māori cultural context, a child's name may construct or reify human bonds creating a sense of belonging. In Rongo-a-

whare's case her teachers were unaware that her name translated literally from Māori to English means *the house of peace*. From a Māori perspective her name has layered meanings and is laden with cultural nuances and historical explications. When Rongo-a-whare's whānau/family named her after her taua/grandmother so began the process of familial enculturation. Rongo-a-whare was proud of her strong connections with her immediate whānau/family but clearly understood her connection to her iwi/tribe, whakapapa/genealogical linkages, and tikanga/social practices, as well.

I chose Rongo-a-whare's oral anecdote to share as one of the nonfiction narratives because our conversation about her desire to change her name filled me with a profound sense of sadness. The disrespect she felt when she was teased and taunted her about the pronunciation of her Māori name was evident when she said, "*Whaea, I'd rather be called something else, otherwise it's sort of like I don't care.*" I did not interpret her personal resolve to assert her Māori identity, on her own terms (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Bishop, O'Sullivan, & Berryman, 2010; Mackintosh, 2004; Stryker & Burke, 2000;) as passive ātetenga/resistance, instead I chose to explore her reaction in terms of mana wahine/female strength, and active ātetenga/resistance. That her Pākehā teacher defined Rongo-a-whare's resolve as negativism and her actions and behaviours as defiant and insubordinate belies the constant claim by many Pākehā teachers that they know their students. Rongo-a-whare's reaction could also be explained by the mōriroriro/cultural alienation she felt in class, a theme I explore in Chapter 5 through Kaharoa's nonfiction narrative. Rongo-a-whare's reaction to the colonisation of her name and her choice to resist as a strategy to overcome the problem she faced is yet another theme I explore in Chapter 6, when I introduce Honey, a Year 11 student from Ākarana/Auckland.

SECTION 5 The Importance of Knowing and Understanding

When a person is forced to fight continually to protect their ahurea tuakiri/cultural identity and consistently strive to maintain a sense of themselves a form of cultural friction results (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Rongo-a-whare was exhibiting what Smith, W. A., Hung, and Franklin (2011), describe as: racial microaggressive conditions produce emotional, psychological, and physiological distress, or racial battle fatigue" (p. 64). This state of cultural friction can also occur when Pākehā teachers mistakenly define Māori as a homogenous group and assume that all Māori students see the world from the same vantage point. This too can signal a failure to understand the complexities of whakapapa/lineage, iwi/tribal identity, and the importance to Māori of their sense of tūrangawaewae/a place to stand. Rongo-a-whare's

narrative represented the distillation of all the participants' anecdotes that spoke of the struggle for ahurea tuakiri/*identity* (Webber, 2012). Rather than being the same, Māori students at Papatūānuku High School were a richly diverse group, with broad tribal affiliations. Not all Māori students were Ngai Tahu, the local iwi/*tribe*, and were therefore considered manuhiri/*visitors* not local/*tangata whenua* even if they were domicile in Rakahuri/*North Canterbury*. I, like the majority of Pākehā teachers at Papatūānuku High School, did not have the cultural competence to recognise each Māori student's specific cultural characteristics and therefore had no idea how they and their whānau/*families*, hapū/*extended families* and iwi/*tribe* chose to express those characteristics.

Pākehā assumptions that Māori are a homogeneous entity are predicated on the idea that all Māori share a common identity and such misguided assertions can be traced back to Westerncentric ideology rooted in the classical colonial images of the noble savage (Redford, 1991). Such constructs define Māori as Other (Smith, G. H., 1997), and render their worth in terms of the political, social, and economic needs of the coloniser. I had never thought of myself as a coloniser before, and the label did not sit well with me. Rongo-a-whare's narrative was a catalyst for change for me as I was forced to confront my culturally ingrained deficit thinking and stereotypical assumptions about Māori. I look back now on my naive assurance to Rongo-a-whare that I was *"Pretty sure there's nothing you could tell me that would surprise me, after 30 years in this job,"* and realise how patronising I must have sounded to her. In observing Rongo-a-whare struggle to maintain her tough couldn't-care-less attitude I realised how difficult it must be for Māori students who live in two worlds (Kelly-McHale & Abril, 2015), each the antithesis of the other. As a nonindigenous AotearoaNew Zealander I internalised for the first time the conundrum many Māori students faced at school when forced to hide who they truly were. The subjugation of Māori students' identity by Pākehā culture in a school setting was illustrated for me when Rongo-a-whare confided in me, *"It's my Form Teacher whaea, she doesn't see me. I'm right there and she's looking right at me ... but she doesn't even see me!"* I began to understand the chasm that opened up before this beautiful young Māori woman/*wahine* each day when she arrived at the school gate and the bridge, she built each day to cross over it.

Deep Learning

As my understanding of the concept of Māori ahurea tuakiri/*identity* grew I identified two major threads emerged from the literature that assisted me to make greater connection about

the importance of whakapapa/*descent*, tribal structures, and cultural practices (Moeke-Pickering, 1996), and the second emerged out of sociology, focusing on socioeconomic and lifestyle characteristics (Durie, M. H., 1995). I began to see that Rongo-a-whare's strong sense of ahurea tuakiri/identity had been forged by her whānau/*family* and whakapapa/*genealogical linkages* and that is what gave her strength. It was her significant cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1973), that I, and her Pākehā teachers at Papatūānuku High School, had not recognised and celebrated with her. These threads led me to Rongo-a-whare's te ao Māori/*Māori world*, a world so different from my own Pākehā construction of reality. I realised that Rongo-a-whare and her whānau/*family* valued education just as much as my family and I did and expected that school would finish for Rongo-a-whare in Year 13.

As a bright, articulate student Rongo-a-whare refused to disengage from school, instead she made a conscious choice to exert her independence/*motuhaketanga* and shield her Māori side. Rongo-a-whare's personal hurt over what she internalised as continual disrespect and the impact that had on her was evident when she said, "*Yeah well, I'm just over it whaea. I'm just ... like ... I'm just sick of all the hassle/raruraru*". It was this deep and personal expression of hurt, juxtaposed with her powerful sense of self and self-worth, that had confused me initially. I had not immediately grasped what had motivated her to take this stand (Kainamu, 2013) and adopt a Pākehā name. As a Pākehā educator I had assumed that all I had to do was get Rongo-a-whare into my office and by simply listening and being sympathetic I would be able to fix whatever was upsetting her. When she said, "*See that's the thing with you teachers, you Pākehā teachers just don't get it,*" I was too quick to personalise the comment and internalise it as an overt criticism. I immediately made the situation worse by making it about me and my feelings of disappointed that Rongo-a-whare had not trusted me and had no faith that I could or would help her. When she asked me, "*Why do you care what the deal is with me changing my name whaea?*" I felt again that profound sense of sadness. That she asked, "*why did I care?*" highlighted for me the thin veneer of trust that defined our relationship at school. Her overt sense of resigned determination that she alone had to solve her problem because the school did not understand was reinforced when she added, "*My Nanny gave me my name, whaea. So, it's not just mine, ... it's hers too, ... and others before her. My name is part of my whakapapa so it's a whānau taonga whaea*". The fact that she had to explain the significance of her name in relation to her whakapapa/*lineage* also highlighted for me my total lack of bicultural competency and cultural connections.

SECTION 6 Emerging Theories

Making Important Cultural Connections

It has been argued that educators need to employ examples from their own cultural knowledge to make important cultural connections (Gay, 2010). As a teacher of English Literature, I used my teaching experience to help me unpick the dichotomy Rong-a-whare's resolute determination to change her name was for me. I chose Shakespeare's play *Romeo and Juliet*, as a deliberate strategy to illustrate the power of a name and its significance to a person's identity. In Act II, Scene 2, Juliet, a Capulet, is grappling with the realisation that her true love, Romeo, is a Montague and therefore not like her. The following soliloquy is a good analogy of difference and identity.

Romeo and Juliet

'Tis but thy name that is my enemy;
Thou art thyself, though not a Montague.
What's Montague? It is nor hand, nor foot,
Nor arm, nor face, nor any other part
Belonging to a man. O, be some other name!
What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet;
So Romeo would, were he not Romeo call'd,
Retain that dear perfection which he owes
Without that title. Romeo, doff thy name,
And for that name *which is no part of thee*
Take all myself.

(II:ii) William Shakespeare

Juliet proclaims, "*O be some other name!*" as she struggles to comprehend the significance and consequent difficulties Romeo Montague's family name creates for the star-crossed lovers. Shakespeare is relentless as he leads the audience to the inevitable denouement and the play's tragic conclusion. There is no escaping Shakespeare's lesson about the consequences of assumptions, prejudice and intolerance. One interpretation of this tale of star-crossed lovers could be, "*that which we call a rose, by any other name,*" sadly, does not smell as sweet.

Both Shakespeare's characterisation of Juliet and Rongo-a-whare's nonfiction narrative personify the naivety of the young who assume adopting '*some other name*,' will result in a miraculous transformation of an individual into an unproblematic self. Rongo-a-whare's decision to change her name provided me with two riddles; the first, would Rongo-a-whare's Māori ahurea tuakiri/*identity* be altered if she chose to anglicise her name? The second, would the relinquishing of her Māori name be the catalyst for subsuming her Māori ahurea tuakiri/*identity* into a Pākehā cultural paradigm?' I found the answer to the first riddle in Juliet's rhetorical question, "*What's in a name?*" Rongo-a-whare's refusal to accept any disrespect of her name reinforced for me what Allport (1961) meant when he argued that, "our given name is the focal point around which we organise our personality, which is why it is of such crucial importance to us" (p. 42). I reasoned that should Rongo-a-whare change her name to Sam she would change an inherently essential component of her personality, but only while she attended school, and so the answer to the first riddle was "No." Stets and Burke (2003), however, argue that "the self is organised into multiple parts or identities within a particular social structure" (p. 132). Extrapolating out from Allport's (1961) view that a person's name is of crucial importance to personality development and Stets and Burke's (2003) view that social structure requires multiple selves I reasoned that the answer to the second riddle was also "No," because while Rongo-a-whare may temporarily relinquished one specific aspect of her ahurea tuakiri/*identity* (her name) in one particular social setting (the school) that action alone would not be the catalyst for a loss of her ahurea tuakiri/*identity* because she is not limited by or to that one social setting.

SECTION 7 Positing Hypotheses /What's in a name?

Within the context of this study the answer for many rangatahi/*teenagers* to the question, "*What's in a name?*" lies in their understanding of the links their name gives them to a shared past, present, and future within their family network. A name connects and confirms their right to tūrangawaewae/*a place to stand* in their unique cultural world. It is not an overstatement to say that this social, cultural, and political complexity is often made invisible within the context of the school when an individual's name is consistently mispronounced (Parham & Helms, 1985). I reflected on the veracity of the argument that whether Capulet or Montague, Māori or Pākehā, there is an inextricable link between an individual's name and their personal, social, and ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity*. I was beginning to see that it was only by acknowledging our similarities and differences as strengths, and respecting them as authentically significant,

that a positive way forward would or could emerge. The building of culturally inclusive relationships between Māori and Pākehā had yet to be achieved in Aotearoa New Zealand.

What I saw standing in the way of such relationship building at Papatūānuku High School was a student body who existed in binary opposition. Pākehā student success was at times defined in terms of Māori student failure, for example if the school achieved 7 scholarships at Level 3 of NCEA it would at times be mentioned publicly if Māori did not figure in those awards. If Māori were visible in the senior school it was invariably in small numbers and given the sacrifices some of those students had had to make their success could be seen as a pyrrhic victory – or as no victory at all (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). The lesson Shakespeare teaches his audience as Romeo and Juliet lie dying in the final Act is *ahurea tuakiri/identity denied is ahurea tuakiri/identity lost*. Participants described feelings of living in a constant state of ambivalence within what they perceived to be an environment that was contrived and did not reflect how they saw themselves. As culturally constructed edifice schools as a heterotopia represent a space that serves the social structures of power and it can therefore be argued actively worked to exclude them. In his examination of the experiences of African-American students at high school Fordham (1988) reinforces this observation when he argues “the message conveyed to Black adolescents is that they cannot be culturally different and, at the same time, achieve success as defined by the dominant society” (p. 81). The difficulty for many of the Māori students I spoke with at Papatūānuku High School was that they felt if they refused to conform and be like the Pākehā students they were targeted or constantly picked on. Again, the theme of defining acquiescence as a betrayal of their *ahurea tuakiri/cultural identity* is seen as significant.

Kukutai, Snipp, Cunningham, and McDermott (2010) argue that Westerncentric imperatives of schooling covertly promote assimilationist policies that create a homogenous norm. Applied to an Aotearoa context it is my argument that such conformity and compliance to that artificially prescribed norm destroys, rather than promotes positive relationships between Pākehā and Māori. Rongo-a-whare was a normal fourteen-year-old girl, with a positive relationship with her whānau/family, and her circle of friends, yet she found she could not establish those same relationships with some of her Pākehā peers and teachers at school. I felt that because she chose not to conform to an arbitrarily prescribed homogenous norm showed a depth of cultural character. The conundrum for me was while she did not choose to “act White” (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) she did choose to adopt a Pākehā name, perhaps in an effort to just

get on with what was more important to her, which was her schooling. I base this assertion of the observation that she did not choose to underperform at school (Cook & Ludwig, 1998) to solve her dilemma. Choosing to be called Sam may have been her compromise to address the racism she experienced. By shielding the name gifted to her through her whakapapa/*genealogical linkages* by her whānau/*family*, she was able to continue her studies. What was relevant to this study were the experiences she had that led to the decision she made that resulted in my growing conscientisation that school was not a bicultural environment no matter how many times prior to this study I had assured myself it was. Accepting her choice was also a compromise I felt I had to make in my *hautūtanga/leadership* role, because to do anything other was to deny Rongo-a-whare the right to self-determination, a theme explored in Chapter 8.

SECTION 8 The Importance of Deep and Abiding Relationships/Whānaungatanga

Rongo-a-whare's narrative helped me to explore the concept of relationships between Māori students and their Pākehā teachers. The educational outcomes of Māori students, according to Bishop and Glynn (1999), M. H. Durie (2001), A. H. Macfarlane (2004), and Webber (2008) are a direct consequence of the hegemonic imperatives Māori students cannot escape when at school. Rongo-a-whare's anecdote made me consider for the first time the importance of deep and abiding relationships to and for Māori students' sense of self and identity. This was my first real insight into the dilemma faced by many Māori students when they encounter Pākehā teachers whose professional practice is immersed in a single Pākehā cultural framework (Walker, R., 1973). Without exception all participants in the study had a strong sense of their ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity*, an understanding of family cohesion/*whānaungatanga*, an intuitive sense of cultural inheritance/*taonga tuku iho*, and links to their local environment/*te ao turoa*. It was another challenge to my basic assumption that school supported Māori students and they just had to knuckle-down and work hard if they wanted to achieve. I was unaware that for these students it was the home and not school that provided a strong place to stand, a place that ensured their personal and collective security/*turangawaewae*.

Rongo-a-whare was representative of Māori students who were bicultural, had aspirations, preferences, and ambitions but remained invisible to their Pākehā teachers unless they were in trouble. Māori students whose cultural practices were located within an indigenous

cultural framework that was not acknowledged by the Pākehā teachers they encountered at school (Alton-Lee et al., 1987) found they enjoyed few meaningful and supportive teacher/pupil relationships. I had to accept that such a cultural divide existed at Papatūānuku High School. I realised that my long-held assumption that I lived in a bicultural country was in fact a myth. What I observed, as I spoke with Rongo-a-whare, was her frustration at what she perceived to be a distinct lack of understanding of her ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* and a strong ātetenga/resistance by some staff to acknowledge her ethnicity as a culturally rich resource. That Rongo-a-whare felt the need to her leave her ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* at the school gate in order to succeed in the classroom (Macfarlane, A. H. et al., 2007) reinforced for me the notion that for many Māori students school represented a site of struggle.

SECTION 9 Bicultural Principal Hautūtanga/*leadership* Practices

I reflected on the implications for Rongo-a-whare when she refused to shed her ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* as she walked through the school gate each day (Milne, 2009). She was a bright, articulate student, a good all-rounder with both academic and sporting potential. Rongo-a-whare's act of r ātetenga/resistance came at a significant cost but was a conscious decision she had made in order to work around a barrier she encountered school. Webber (2012) argues that:

Although negative stereotypes are prevalent and powerful in the lives of Māori adolescents, a strong racial-ethnic identity may enhance their resilience, providing them with the capacity to prevent negative pressures from interfering with their educational engagement (p. 21).

I saw in Rongo-a-whare that unique resilience that stems from a confidence in who she was, where she was going and how she was going to get there. My assumption that all staff had an implicit understanding of biculturalism and held the same high expectations for Māori as they had for Pākehā students was challenged when Rongo-a-whare talked about her perceptions of her teacher's opinion of her. That she believed, "*She hates me*", signalled to me the lack of an essential connectivity, that imperative ingredient needed to grow positive relationships between students and their teachers. This exchange brought home to me the importance of staff employing culturally responsive (Villegas & Lucas, 2002) pedagogies that recognised the value and importance of not only Māori language, but Māori culture, and identity as well (Berryman

et al., 2013; Timperley & Alton-Lee, 2008). I also recognised that teachers, as a professional body, are the adults in student-teacher relationships, and therefore the onus sits with us to initiate strategies to engage with Māori students and build those foundations of trust and friendship (Macfarlane, A. H. et al., 2007).

I began to unpick the assumptions I held about equal opportunity and level playing fields in Aotearoa New Zealand schools. I initiated professional conversations (Danielson, 2015) with teachers who, whether intentionally or intuitively, acknowledged that all their students were not the same. Our discussions centred around their use of pedagogies that built natural, caring, and inclusive relationships and considered different contexts for different students in terms of differing ways of learning (Ministry of Education, 2007; Berryman, Egan, & Ford, 2017; Tomoana, 2012). I often found myself having to bite my tongue when staff would interpret my comments as criticism and begin to justify their practice (Nakhid, 2006). I decided I wanted to initiate a professional learning programme for the full staff, so we could introduce culturally appropriate pedagogies in a school-wide initiative at Papatūānuku High School that would celebrate diversity, create culturally safe spaces, and acknowledge Māori students both personally and collectively (Macfarlane, A. H. et al., 2007).

I reflected on our school-wide practices for engaging *whānau/families* and observed a gap in our processes that saw us neglect the need to embrace meaningful and respectful partnerships with Māori (McLaughlin, Aspden, & McLachlan, 2015). I noticed for the first time that although Papatūānuku High School did engage with our local school community we did that in a very monocultural way. Our school was large, and our preference was for efficiency in coverage which saw us repeatedly hold large formal gatherings in the School Hall rather than intimate informal meetings with *kai/food*. We sent blanket invitations to school events by email to parents rather than telephoning them personally. Invitations to events such as Academic Interviews and Sports Days were published in the school's Newsletter and not followed up with a personal approach. We held formal meetings (for example board of trustee meetings) in the school's Board Room located on the second floor of the school's administration building. I was beginning to see that these were monocultural approaches and did not help us as a school to establish positive relationships/*whakawhānaungatanga* with Māori *whānau/families*. When I asked Rongo-a-whare if she had told her Mum about the teasing and she replied, "*Ooh dear/auē taukuri ē, I didn't tell her whaea, 'cause, she'd be grumpy/pukukino as, and that's never going to be good!*" It occurred to me then how odd it was that Rongo-a-whare was managing such a significant issue by herself. I reflected on our lack of cultural awareness which resulted in a lost

opportunity to work with Rongo-a-whare and involve her whānau/family in a culturally safe space to solve this dilemma.

Although the school acknowledged that the home and the school should work in equal partnership and collaborate/*mahi tahi* to meet the needs of our Māori students, we had not established a clear and unimpeded pathway for that to occur organically. What was missing for Rongo-a-whare, and if it was missing for her it would be missing for so many other Māori students as well, was the opportunity to co-construct a solution to this dilemma in a supportive and collaborative environment. I reflected on what a learning environment would look like if it naturally nurtured cultural understandings and provided shared safe spaces for Māori students to problem solve. My new learning involved addressing this lack with Pākehā staff who could not see it why such a change to our learning environment was crucial for Māori students.

SECTION 10 The Invisibility of Invisibility

Given the hegemonic imperatives that underpinned Rongo-a-whare's educational experience it was not surprising that she had lost patience with a system that she felt disrespected her ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* and rendered her invisible as a strong, capable and confident Māori wahine/*young woman*. Noble's (2013) discussion around what values are assigned to race and gender in classification systems was an interesting sidebar to my burgeoning understanding of the feelings of invisibility that Māori students described when they encountered implacable staff. This is a point to which I return in Chapter 5. Rongo-a-whare was initially reserved when I questioned her about her motives for requesting a name change. Her reticence evaporated when I said, "*I'm pretty sure there's nothing you could tell me that would surprise me, after 30 years in this job*". The irony was that while her confidence grew, my own diminished as I realised my own naivety. The experiences of school life Rongo-a-whare shared with me, the issues she grappled with, and her ideas around why things happened as they did, were things that both surprised and unsettled me. Firstly, because it was as if these things were happening in a parallel universe and secondly because I believed that our school culture was committed to the values of honesty, trust, respect, and inclusiveness. I realised I had been oblivious to the realities of both the inner and external conflict many Māori students dealt with daily at Papatūānuku High School.

The ambivalence Rongo-a-whare felt at school and the impact each negative interaction she had with some Pākehā teachers and students were invisible to me, not because I did not care, but because of my lack of cultural understanding. The fact that Rongo-a-whare's Pākehā classroom teacher mispronounced her name at the beginning of every lesson and failed to recognise her actions caused Rongo-a-whare significant distress emphasised for me the depth of the problem that needed to be addressed. That I now recognised it was I/we who needed to change highlighted for me the powerful new learning that was now challenging my long-held assumptions and was reshaping my thinking.

SECTION 11 Summary

Challenging Assumptions, Deficit Thinking Models and Entrenched Cultural Perspectives.

As a research methodology autoethnography provided me with the opportunity to explore the world around me and confront unexpected anomalies that challenged my often-entrenched view of my world and how I understood it. I found the constant interrogation of self, implicit in this methodological approach, resulted in new learning that was at times physically and emotionally painful. For clarity, the *concept of self* as it applies in the discussions in Section 3 of each of the chapters should not be confused with a discussion of *self-concept*. Gecas (1982) helps me to clarify this distinction arguing that:

The *self-concept* is conceptualized as an organization (structure) of various identities and attributes, and their evaluations, developed out of the individual's reflexive, social, and symbolic activities. As such, the self-concept is an experiential, mostly cognitive phenomenon accessible to scientific inquiry (p. 4).

Although similar the concept of self (Berry, 2009) lies in the thoughtful, conscious self-awareness that grows and develops through reflexive practices. My approach to data analysis required me to engage in an explicit analysis of my own role and while such analysis did involve the recognition of three specific identities their evaluations developed out of the individual's reflexive, social, and symbolic activities, it also includes a subjective dimension that is ambiguous in nature. Such analysis embellished my self-concept through contested, augmented experiences, but these did not simply reflect or delineate meaning, what happened instead was that meaning was altered, and my concept of self was changed forever (Beer, 1997).

The anecdotes participants shared challenged my comfortable understandings of myself and exposed my latent preconceptions of individuals considered as Other. As discussed in Chapter 1, I deliberately contextualised my sense of self and identified three separate entities I brought to this work. The question I grappled with when reflecting on myself as a researcher a principal and an individual was, how can I separate myself into these three separate entities? I wondered if it would be impossible to avoid an overlap of these identities, to escape a morphing, a bleeding of traits and characteristics into my essential self, the very kernel of my existence?

I rejected as flawed the idea that your multiple identities could exist independently as flawed. I felt that my three selves were surely bound and bonded in a complex way so that one could not exist in isolation of the other two. I was afraid that if I attempted to compartmentalise my three selves not only did I risk burnout but the fragmenting my reflections and interruption of the reflexive process (Casserley & Megginson, 2009). I resolved that my three selves were never independent of each other. They were intertwined, each one underpinning and influencing for the other two, whether it be overtly or subliminally. I found over time that there was never silence in my head - and it was exhausting. The interrogation of self (See Figure 8) was gruelling, relentless, and often painful throughout the research process. In each of the Chapters 4 to 8, my three connected selves (Finlay, 2002), the Researcher - *self as process*, the Principal - *self as context* and my Essential Self - *self as content* are ever present in relation to the new learning that occurred. It was this recognition of the synergy of self that distinguished my approach to analysis and allowed me to see multiple connections between myself and the.

How was I changed?

Before I began this research study, I had genuinely believed that Māori students were advantaged in our education system and enjoyed levels of support not experienced by indigenous or First Peoples in other countries. I learnt that this was not the case. I was confronted by the implications for Māori students who were confronted each day at school by Pākehā teachers who like me had a limited understanding of the Māori world/*te ao Māori*. Until I was confronted by the reality of the experiences of the participants, I had no understanding of the customary system of values and practices that are deeply embedded in the social context of Māori life/ *Māori tikanga*, and no appreciation that not only were they invisible to me, they were invisible to the majority of my colleagues as well. My initial conversations with participants raised my consciousness and so began my search of the literature (Borell et al., 2009) that would help me to appreciate the realities for Māori of colonisation, confiscations of land, and unequal wealth and resource distribution in AotearoaNew Zealand.

My new learning, best described as a gradual process of conscientisation, did not reflect or delineate existing meaning for me, instead those inherent understandings and experiences that had created meaning in my life were augmented and altered forever (Beer, 1997; Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006). I understood for the first time the reality for Māori of unfair treatment and I saw for the first time that our education system worked to exacerbate these inequalities. I developed irrational feelings of culpability, complicity, and guilt, all of which contributed to my uncomfortable sense of disorientation. I felt exposed and completely vulnerable when I realised that my world was a Pākehā world of domination and privilege. I felt embarrassment when I thought of the number of times I had told visitors from other countries that Aotearoa New Zealand was a truly bicultural/*tikanga rua* country. It was from this position of disequilibrium that I began to look for alternative ways to interpret my Pākehā world in relation to the Māori world/*te ao Māori*.

The Researcher - self as process

My secondary research question was framed around changes I wanted to make to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice that would resonate with, impact positively on, and make a significant difference to Māori students' experiences of school. I documented those changes in relation to the impact augmented meaning had on me, the practitioner principal, the individual (essential self) and the researcher. As an insider researcher I deliberately avoided selecting participants, nor did I create a sample group. Rather the participants presented organically, and always because some crisis or incident had occurred, and my role was defined as either arbitrator or mediator. As such during the analysis of data I did not compare data sets, instead I identified themes as they arose from the participants' anecdotes shared with me. Once I had recorded the anecdotes, I then categorised each one depending of the strongest theme to emerge in the telling. As the insider researcher I had no control over who participated because context was the main determinant of first contact. The commonalities for participants were; they all identified as Māori, and all had a relationship with Papatūānuku High School or Māori education. Their differences were seen in their *iwi/tribe*, age, gender, and life experiences.

As a practice-based researcher I found I could not escape my default setting as a teacher of literature. In fact, I think this duality brought an unexpected strength to my research methodology because I intuitively brought the skills of literary analysis to my writing. So often there was no standard, specific analytical vocabulary to describe the shifts in my understanding. Therefore, as an autoethnographer I had a distinct advantage because qualitative research lends

itself to mining the rich themes, ideas, and concepts so often locked within the data collected. The metaphorical was my frame of reference for the work my subconscious undertook as it made sense of, and then connections to, new ideas, concepts and knowledge (Jensen, 2006). I saw in my mind's eye each nonfiction narrative as a piece of a jigsaw puzzle. Each piece eventually fitted with the others thus creating a completed jigsaw puzzle. Each participants' nonfiction narrative is one piece of that puzzle. As an autoethnographer I could not avoid the multilayering of data collected from the multidimensional space that was the school (Yonezawa, Jones, M., & Joselowsky, 2009). Nor could I avoid placing myself at the centre (Ellis, 2004), of the nonfiction narratives as I attempted to make sense of the data in relation to my world and te ao Māori/Māori world view.

Each of the nonfiction narratives is an entity in its own right and can stand alone, (as Māori students are often required to do at school), and still the writing will be recognised as an authentic account of a specific event. However, it is only when all five nonfiction narratives stand together that the reader perceives that the whole of the jigsaw puzzle is so much more than the sum of the five separate parts. Conversely each narrative represents both a specific theme relating to Māori student experience at Papatūānuku High School and significant new learning for me as the subject of the research. The whole in this instance is a Māori world view/*Te ao Māori*, and it is by accessing each of these separate parts that I as the researcher could connect with that culturally alternative world. The concept of the metaphorical deep is my immersion into the five themes identified that are inveterate within the whole. I argue as well that while Rongo-a-whare's nonfiction narrative speaks to ahurea tuakiri/cultural identity, it could just as easily speak to mōriroriro/*cultural alienation*, ātetenga/*resistance*, or any of the other themes discovered in the data over that two-year period.

Rongo-a-whare is an example of my understanding of context. She was a participant brought to my attention initially by one of the school's Deans. Within that context I asked Kaharoa, a member of staff, who we will meet next in Chapter 5, to help me to understand the issues Rongo-a-whare had raised with me. It transpired that his help in that instance triggered his own anecdote as an old boy of Papatūānuku High School, which provided yet another context, yet another category and the exploration of the theme of mōriroriro/*cultural alienation*. In Chapter 6 we meet Honey, a Year 10 transfer student from Ākarana/Auckland. Honey personified/*whakatangata* the theme of student ātetenga/*resistance* and her anecdote was the conduit for the anecdotes that spoke of avoidance behaviour, passive aggression, and inner strength. In Chapter 7 we explore the concept of inter-personal care/*āwhinanatanga* when we

meet Papera Hakapia and explore a Mātauranga Māori/*Māori world view* and finally in Chapter 8, we meet Dianne, the warrior mother. Dianne's nonfiction narrative illustrates the importance to mana rangatiratanga/*Māori of self-determination* and the disappointment many Māori whānau/*families* feel when their children/*tamariki* encounter teachers who are deficit thinkers who create culturally unsafe learning environments for their children/*tamariki*.

The Principal - self as context

All the participants' anecdotes challenged me in different ways; as a researcher, as a principal and as an individual. When talking with Rongo-a-whare about ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* and what it meant to her to be Māori, I asked her, "*How do you know you are Māori?*" She immediately responded with, "*How do you know you're a Pākehā?*" Her response drew me up short because as a Pākehā it was a question I never really thought about. But even though I had never consciously had to justify my cultural affiliations before, I knew intuitively who and what I was because I lived the answer to that question every day. With that quick and confident reply, Rongo-a-whare had provided me with a linchpin for mutual understanding, a nexus between our intuitive perceptions of self that were not tied to our ethnicity but to our identity. Her quick response encapsulated the galvanised sense she had of her own Māori identity, a sense that transcended antidiological indicators (Freire, 1972) of Māori levied by Westerncentric definitions (Hermans, 2001).

As a principal it was a steep *hautūtanga/leadership* learning curve to realise that my neocortex could not access any prior knowledge of Māori identity. I realised that my professional and academic experience of Māori was limited to impressions of Māori as Other. The anecdotes participants shared with me that spoke to the theme of identity all shared the common thread which was for them the absence of a caring and supportive relationship with one or more of their Pākehā teachers. They described good teachers as those who saw them for who they were and accepted them unconditionally. Each participant identified a poor teacher as the individual who lacked empathy and understanding for them as Māori. Some going so far as to say the relationships were often confrontational, mean-spirited, and demeaning. For many students, this led to feelings of frustration, futility, and resentment.

My biggest shift in thinking at this time was that I realised that I had to change my behaviours first before I could expect others to change. I analysed my *hautūtanga/leadership* style using the indicators of best practice that participants identified during our conversations.

I was surprised by the intuitive knowledge students had around culturally appropriate pedagogies that better reflected tikanga Māori/*Māori customs, protocols and procedures*. I learnt about the importance of face-to-face/*kanohi ki te kanohi* interactions for Māori students when engaging with their teachers (Pipi et al., 2004). The implications for me, as a principal, were far reaching. I found myself at odds with some of my staff as we discussed issues of identity for Māori students. I was often met with mild indifference, or on occasion clearly articulated disbelief, and very occasionally fervent denial, when I articulated the view that Māori students needed alternative teaching pedagogies if they were to engage more positively and achieve better results at school. The unconscious bias (Picower, 2009) that underpinned some staff refusal to accept there was an issue for Māori students most often manifested itself in comments like, “*I treat all my students the same,*” or “*the Māori students in my class just don’t want to work, they have the same chance as every other student I teach!*” Many of the staff did not recognise the resilience it took for some of our Māori students to stay at school. Rongo-a-whare explained to me that she tried very hard to just ignore the teasing but eventually found it impossible do so when the teasing turned to bullying. In requesting to change her name Rongo-a-whare was responding to the subjugation of her Māori identity while at school and rather than suffer judgement, humiliation, disrespect, and racism (Sleeter, 2012) she took action.

I had worked hard to be the kind of leader who was actively reflective, collaborative, and consultative (Cardno & Youngs, 2013; Fullan & Hargraves, 1991): however, I was slowly realising that I was missing certain essential elements present in Kaupapa Māori/*Māori principles hautūtanga/leadership* (Robinson et al., 2009; Skerrett, 2010). I was oblivious to the reality that those gaps would need to be addressed if I wanted to meet the needs of Māori students. My conscientisation (Freire, 1998a) around Māori students’ experiences at Papatūānuku High School and the experiences of Māori adults I worked closely with in my *hautūtanga/leadership* role contributed to my new learning about how important *hautūtanga/leadership* is in empowering Māori stakeholders to be themselves and celebrate their authentic identity/*mana motuhake*. My long-held assumptions that Pākehā society was egalitarian and that all state schools provided a level playing field for education began to fray. Rongo-a-whare’s experience illustrated that far from being level, the playing field was a site of political struggle providing cultural barriers that were too often reinforced and perpetuated by Pākehā students and teachers. Sullivan, (2005), argues that:

For many ethnic minority children, racist intimidation and bullying is the gauntlet that they have to run in the classroom, the playground and the world at large on a daily basis (p. 118).

Rongo-a-whare confirmed this assertion when she explained how she had, *“tried to ignore ... [the bullying] ... at first. But then the Pākehā kids started to call me ‘rong-go the drong-go,’ outside of class ... like at the canteen and stuff. I’d tell them, ‘that’s not my name!’ But they’d just laugh at me, whaea, and do it more!”*

What made this autoethnography ethnographical and not just a biography or memoir of my time as the principal at Papatūānuku High School was my stated ethnographic intent of gaining a deeper synergistic understanding of myself in relation to the Māori students and their whānau/families at Papatūānuku High School. That Rongo-a-whare confided in me and trusted me as her principal and as a person had a significant impact on me.

The Essential Self - self as content

As an autoethnographer and bricoleur I had a tremendous advantage when it came to appropriating strategies for data analysis and interpretation. Insider research involves moving back and forth between your own experiences and those of other participants, of threading yourself in and out of the personal, professional and social realms of your everyday life and submerging in and emerging out of the data that is collected over time (Chang, 2007). Effective autoethnography offers the researcher a nascent flexibility to position the self in the research process, context and content.

I move on in Chapter 5 to explore the theme of mōriroriro/cultural alienation and Māori taiohi/Māori adolescence. The chapter introduces Kaharoa, a young secondary school teacher at Papatūānuku High School and past pupil of the school and focusses on the mōriroriro/cultural alienation he suffered as a young sixteen-year-old. The chapter builds on my new learning about the importance of a strong sense of ahurea tuakiri/cultural identity if Māori tamariki tāne/boys are to cope with the often-alienating experiences they suffer within the Pākehā education system.

He kākano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiātea
I am a seed which was sewn in the heavens of Rangiātea

CHAPTER FIVE MŌRIRORIRO/CULTURAL ALIENATION

SECTION 1 My Name is Kaharoa Manihera - Don't Presume to Call Me Karl!

Nonfiction Narrative [Reflective Journal, Vol 4:130416]

"Kia Ora Kaharoa", I smiled as our young Te Reo Māori teacher walked confidently into my office.

He grinned. "Kia Ora Whaea, kei te pēhea koe?" he responded.

"I'm great – that is, ka pai e hoa" I replied, "Have a seat. I need some advice" I smiled, motioning to a Chair by my desk.

Kaharoa sat down, his interest obviously piqued. "What can I do to help Whaea?" He asked thoughtfully.

I sighed and replied "I have just had a conversation with Rongo-a-whare about the fact that she wants to change her name to Sam. She is adamant that she wants to do it and she doesn't really want to talk about why with her teachers" I started.

Kaharoa looked thoughtful and then sitting back in his Chair responded, "I'm not surprised, it is sometimes the only way out".

I must admit I was a little taken aback. "What do you mean; it's the only way out?" I asked.

"Well," he said, leaning forward and placing his hands on the table top. "We've all been there at one time or another. You told me yourself you got called piggy not Peggy when you were in Japan."

I laughed, "Yeah, but even though they were fluent speakers of English they weren't used to my 'New Zilland' accent," I laughed.

"Well imagine if they never got used to your accent and never stopped calling you piggy."

"How do you mean?" I responded, a little surprised that the humour had evaporated from his voice.

"Well say, whenever you heard your name," he continued, "you only ever heard piggy. How do you think you would feel, if every day you were called piggy, even when you went to the trouble of pointing out how to say your name properly?"

He looked expectantly at me. "Imagine when you pointed out that you were tired of hearing your name mispronounced you got told not to be so stupid, or got shouted

at, or worse you got publicly humiliated when people laughed at you for stressing the small stuff!"

My eyes searched his face. I was horrified, "Surely that doesn't happen now", I replied. "This is the 21st century. I thought that kind of thing only happened back in the 1940s."

"You'd think that, wouldn't you?" he responded quietly. "He mea nui ki a tātau ō tātau whakapapa," he continued.

"What does that mean? I asked.

Kaharoa smiled, almost indulgently, "It means, our genealogies are important to us. So important that we ..." He paused for a moment, as if gathering his thoughts, and then continued, "It means that we would rather hide it away than have you stomp all over it!" He looked away, and almost apologetically said into the silence that followed, "Well, not you whaea."

I rubbed my hands across my face, gently pressing my fingertips into my eye sockets. Blowing out a soft flow of air through my nose I replied, "I just can't believe that happens now".

Kaharoa frowned "It happened to me at this school, and it is happening to Māori students in this school right now."

"What do you mean, it happened to you?" I said, raising my eyebrows in surprise. "You might be surprised to know that my name is one of the reasons I got thrown out of this school," he replied thickly. "I remember it quite clearly," he continued thoughtfully. "I was sitting in History and our teacher was taking the roll and when he got to my name he said, Kahaaa, Kaaaa, Karaaaa, oh that's just too hard to get my tongue around, I think I'll just call you Karl".

"What!" I gasped, "So ... what did you say?"

"Well, you can imagine" he chortled, "I wasn't such a polite and respectful fella as I am now!"

I smiled at him, "I can imagine," I replied.

"Well I just told him, you can fuck off man. My name is Kaharoa and you can call me that!"

"What did he do?" I asked, horrified.

"Just what you expect some dumb White teacher would do," Kaharoa replied, with a vehemence I had never heard in his voice before. "He told me I was a trouble-maker and threw me out of his class. He sent me to the principal".

"Then what happened?" I prompted.

Kaharoa seemed almost lost in the memory of that exchange. "Well the Principal was nice enough. We all knew he cared about us, but he said to me, "Kaharoa I think it is time for you to go. School isn't the place for you; we both know you've out grown it I think."

Kaharoa paused, staring silently into the distance as if he was watching the scenario playing out in front to him.

Giving his head an almost imperceptible shake, he continued, "Yeah, he said that whaea. He said that; and that was it, I was gone burger!" Kaharoa pressed his lips together and looked at me.

"Wow, that's just unbelievable," I said, as I sat back in my Chair, "He asked you to leave."

"Nah," Kaharoa responded, "He never asked me to leave, he told me to leave whaea."

He paused and then into the silence said quietly, "And whaea, I was not the only one, it happened back then and it's still happening now."

It took me a moment to grasp the enormity of what Kaharoa was telling me. "So, when it happened to you what did you do?" I asked, feeling sick inside.

Kaharoa look me straight in the eye, "Well, I said, "Fuck You!" and I left. I walked out of his office and out of this school, out of that life, and that was the end of High School for me. I guess they did their best ... I guess school just wasn't for me.

He paused, "Actually," he said quietly, "The first time I ever came back to this school was when you offered me this job."

There was a salutary pause as we both reflected on the reality of those words

"I was only 16 years old and I knew right then and there that there was no point in arguing with him. I knew he had already made up about me."

"I don't know what to say" I replied, "It's just unbelievable that this could have happen to you".

Kaharoa frowned, "Not unbelievable whaea, just the way it is."

He looked directly at me and asked, "Do you know the fundamental difference between what happened to you in Japan with the 'Piggy Burrows' thing and what happened to me when I was sixteen?"

"Tell me" I replied.

"The key difference, as I see it," He said to me thoughtfully, "Is that you got to come home and then it was all OK for you. Everything was all back to normal for you. You were Peggy again and you got to laugh about what happened overseas,

use it as a funny anecdote about your time away Asia. The big difference for me ... for us ... is that we are already home. So where do we go if we want to find ourselves and be ourselves?"

He paused as if waiting for me to answer. When I said nothing because I didn't know what to say Kaharoa at me.

"Not your fault whaea, but until Pākehā make some changes and accept that they need to learn the tikanga and learn the Māori language/reo, how can it ever change for us!"

SECTION 2 The Alienation of Māori Tamariki Tāne/Boys

I began this chapter with the nonfiction narrative I wrote after hearing Kaharoa's anecdote about his untimely exit from secondary school in Aotearoa New Zealand in the late 1990s. I now turn to an exploration of the major theme of *mōriroriro/cultural alienation* that emerged from the data and is expressed in this narrative. I attempt to define my understanding of *mōriroriro/cultural alienation* as it relates to participants in this study and then develop emerging theories about *mōriroriro/cultural alienation* and Māori tamariki tāne/boys and the connection that exist between both. I note here that while this chapter focusses on Māori tamariki tāne/boys it does not mean that these issues do not face Māori tamariki wahine/girls, it is simply that my focus was on a recurring theme that appeared affect male participants to a greater degree than their female peers at that time. Next, I make links to this phenomenon's importance to me as the educational leader charged with raising Māori student achievement at Papatūānuku High School. I close this chapter with a summary of my new learning and the implications this has for me as I contemplated the changes required in my *hautūtanga/leadership* style and the shifts in my thinking that required the development of new muscle memory in my thought processes.

SECTION 3 Defining Mōriroriro/Cultural Alienation

It had never occurred to me as the principal of Papatūānuku High School that Māori students would not feel confident and connected at school. I had to confront my assumptions that because we had a *wharehui/communal Meeting House*, a *whānau class/class philosophy underpinned by tikanga Māori* and a strong *Whare/House* system that those resources alone would be enough to create a sense of belong for Māori students. When categorising the participants' anecdotes one of the strong themes to emerge from the tane/boys' shared experiences was their sense of *mōriroriro/alienation*. These anecdotes spoke to

mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* because they were the stories of Māori tamariki tāne/boys' feelings of being seen, but not seen, being heard, but not heard and being visible, but being invisible, to their teachers. The Māori tamariki tāne/boys described their school day as lacking in any celebration of them as Māori. Instead they felt when they were seen it was when they were being naughty, when they were heard the connotation was, they were being overheard in the negative context of being rude. The Māori tamariki tāne/boys reported when they felt they were visible, that visibility was always a precursor for teacher criticism; be it for untidy uniform or for wearing nonregulation uniform items. They also commented they were visible when meeting up with their friends during interval and lunch, but again that visibility was described by some teachers as congregating in gangs in the school grounds. What repeatedly came to the fore in the data as they shared their experiences with me was, they did not feel being Māori was a good thing, nor did they feel accepted, supported or encouraged as Māori at school by most of their teachers.

Loo and Rolison (1986) define mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* as “the outcome of one’s holding values highly divergent from those of the social collectivity and ... [having] ... insufficient personal interaction with other members of the collectivity (p. 60). I used Loo and Rolison’s definition as my starting point for understanding what mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* might mean conceptually, but I was searching for a definition that spoke to a lack of connection, a lack of close relationships, a lack of mutual and agreed understanding of difference as a positive and not a negative. By interrogating the study data provided by participants who were Māori tamariki tāne/boys and pulling out the incidents they described that encompassed tangible incidents of hegemonic domination; and then talking with the students about how those experiences affected them, I began to craft a definition of mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* that took into consideration our own context, located as we were in the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. My definition of mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* acknowledged Loo and Rolison’s concept of divergence and the lack of connectivity but pushed at those boundaries to include the tangible. By tangible I mean what I saw and felt: the emotions reflected in the faces of participants when they described to me their frustrations, the hurt in the voices of participants when they recalled in our conversations, the pain they felt in their hearts when they were disregarded, denigrated or dismissed as deviant, but worst of all the reluctant acceptance in their body language when they explained to me the *fait accompli*, of that is how it is whea/Miss. For me, these participants personified the mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* experienced by Māori tamariki tāne/boys in our school and the inhumanity of the hegemonic construct of Other that invariably defines them.

SECTION 3 Shifts in Thinking

As a member of the dominant colonising force, as a Pākehā, I found that naming and understanding this sense of *mōriroriro/cultural alienation* was difficult and required a deliberate shift in my thinking. From my initial vantage point I had failed to realise my default position was an unconscious deficit bias and that I unwittingly considered Māori student behaviour only in relation to a comparison with their Pākehā peers. I recall a conversation I had with Kaharoa about when he started school at age five. He described himself as a bit of a show off but was also gratified that he was bilingual, and bicultural even at that age. Kaharoa had been a very social and popular student at his local secondary school which was located one hundred metres from his Marae wāhi tapu /a sacred place, a communal place. He recalled that when he transitioned as a twelve-year-old to Papatūānuku High School his innately cheeky behaviour was considered cocky, and he remembered being bullied as a result. I reflected on the challenges that had not been obvious to me before that Māori tamariki tāne/boys faced when transitioning from small inclusive, bicultural secondary schools into large monocultural state schools. I was suddenly conscious of the lack of strong role models for Māori tamariki tāne/boys at Papatūānuku High School and realised that in a South Island context they saw few other Māori in *hautūtanga/leadership* role, on the staff or in the students' ranks. P. Stanley (2003) emphasises this point when he states:

We currently live in a world of hero barren worship, so much so that our boys and our men are more likely to understand the lyrics and dressage of Snoop Doggy Dog than of Titokowaru or Te Rauparaha. Not enough of our real male heroes are celebrated (p. 84).

Kaharoa personified this vacuum because, except for his own extended whānau/family, he had been provided with few Māori heroes and even fewer positive Māori role models to look up to at Papatūānuku High School.

I felt despondent that little had change in the intervening years and here he was as an adult still facing those same inequities in the same educational setting. Hook (2006) reminds us that:

Although we may congratulate ourselves for the enormous advances that have been made in Māori education over these last 25 years, we recognise that there is still a long way to go. (p.1).

While I accept that great strides have been made in the first decade and a half of the 21st century in introducing innovative programmes into schools I feel implementation has tended to happen within a Te Ika-a-Māui/*North Island* context. My concern stemmed from a frustration that many of those innovative initiatives were not available to South Island schools during the pilot phase due to insufficient government funding.

A poignant illustration of that ‘long way we have to go’ was my lack of recognition of the significance of Kaharoa’s name which translates as *the Net*. It was ironic that his resilience and his eventual entry back into education as a teacher embodied that concept of a net. Kaharoa had always been a net and as such held unique Māori characteristics, and lived and modelled those qualities and skills in his daily life both as a Māori tamariki tāne/boy and as an adult. The fact that that side of Kaharoa had been invisible to his teachers and then to me as his colleague reinforced the importance to me of bicultural underpinnings in educational settings and in *hautūtanga/leadership* practices. Irrespective of what some of Kaharoa’s Pākehā teachers may have assumed his education had not commenced at age five, when he enrolled at his first state secondary school. In fact, his education, like many Māori tamariki tāne/boys, began at birth when he had been exposed to the customary system of values and practices that are deeply embedded in a Māori social context. Kaharoa’s acquisition of te reo Māori/*Māori language*, and his Ngai Tahu tribe’s/*iwi*’s cultural knowledge was overseen by his whānau/*family*, more specifically his pōua/*grandfather*. Hook (2006) argues that:

Māori people exist in two worlds and are expected to perform credibly in both. This dichotomy of existence may be the foundation of many of the stresses and strains that Māori experience daily including alienation from a mainstream society that is sometimes deaf to minority pleas for help, and blind to inequities forced upon them by unwelcome subliminal assimilation policies conducted in the name of democracy (p. 2).

I could not help thinking how gifted Kaharoa must have been compared to many of his Pākehā peers, who in the main were monolingual and monocultural. Kaharoa confidently exists in two worlds (Henze & Vanett, 1993) and has done so his entire life. The fact that duality was not a conscious choice Kaharoa had made but an implicit expectation of him, and Māori generally, as a colonised Nation was something I had not recognised before.

The world that I had hitherto been oblivious of was *te ao Māori/the Māori world*. A world underpinned by an accumulated body of knowledge and understandings deeply influenced by a complex combination of cultural beliefs, values, skills and traditions, all of which are closely linked to *whānaungatanga/kinship*. The second was my world, *te ao Pākehā* and a culture was steeped in a Westerncentric paradigm and hegemonic understandings (Terruhn, 2015), juxtaposed with Christian values, and premised upon implicit and explicit modes of capitalism. My world, I was finding out, was a world situated in an imperialist, colonialist paradigm. As colonisers of Aotearoa New Zealand Pākehā had historically positioned themselves in binary opposition to Māori assuming they were a civilising force charged with the redemption of a nation of Māori savages.

SECTION 4 Whose World View?

The signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi^{vii} /*Treaty of Waitangi* on 6 February 1840, was seen by Pākehā as the beginning of that civilising process. The Treaty established British sovereignty over AotearoaNew Zealand, recognising Māori ownership of their lands, forests, and other properties. As a self-proclaimed civilising force Pākehā used Te Tiriti o Waitangi to assure the Māori Nation that they would enjoy all the rights and privileges of British subjects. History, however, as our best teacher has shown Pākehā had little inclination to work ethically to establish a pluralist society committed to a true and lasting partnership with Māori. Despite being the majority population in 1840, history records Māori *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination* as a nation was systematically undermined and eroded from 1850 – 1900. During that fifty-year period history recalls that Māori suffered disease, warfare, and *mōriroriro/alienation* from their tribal lands at the hands of their Pākehā colonisers. At the dawn of the 20th century Māori faced further privations that impacted negatively on their economic, social, health, independence, and welfare (King, M, 2003).

When reflecting on the history I had been taught in the state education systems in the 1970s I recognised that there appeared to be two world views of history as well. The one I had been exposed to did not recall the horrific impact of colonisation on Māori nor the devastating

mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* they suffered as a Nation State when Government policy and legislation constantly and repeatedly undermined Māori tino rangatiratanga/*self-determination*. As a teacher of English Literature in 1889, I remember the horror I felt when I read about the banning of te reo Māori/Māori language in all state schools in the 1940s Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011). The general acceptance at that time, even by tribal leaders, Māori Members of Parliament and the general public, that a confidence in the English language was a necessity when making an equal contribution to a bicultural society, spoke to me of a total lack of regard for any unanticipated consequences that might arise as a result.

One such unexpected consequence of the assimilationist policies at that time was the resulting destruction of the Māori language in the years following their adoption. I was overwhelmed when I realised the implication for Māori when deprived of their language. I came to know that unlike Western history Māori history was transmitted by and reliant on strong oral traditions. The loss of the language meant for many but not all the loss of the ability to access two thousand years of history, art, culture, whakapapa/*genealogical linkages* and myths and legends that fed the Māori soul. It had never occurred to me before that if I was suddenly deprived of the right to speak and read English I would also lose access to thousands of years of history, art, culture, family history, and religion that underpinned my culture and fed my soul. Why was it that it had never occurred to me before that for Māori that was a reality? That shift in focus contributed yet again to a significant alteration in my world view?

SECTION 5 Rites of Passage

Within both Māori and Pākehā worlds there are culturally and socially defined roles that tane/boys are expected to play. Both Māori and Pākehā culture have significant and prescribed rites of passage and celebrate them collectively, individually, formally and informally through public and private rituals, protocols, and ceremonies. For each culture deep understandings of those rites of passage come both from written and oral histories. In the pseudo-bicultural paradigm of the 21st century two things occur for Māori tamariki tāne/boys. The first is that their indigenous cultural rituals, protocols, and ceremonies have either been lost due to the loss of their first language or exist in isolation from, and are invisible to, them within dominant mainstream Pākehā culture. The second is that when Māori do celebrate important rites of passage it is invariably in the private realm of the Marae wāhi tapu /*a sacred place, a communal place* each tribe describes as their place to stand tall and secure/*tūrangawaewae*. For many Māori their Marae is place of refuge from a society saturated by Pākehā culture and provides

an environment where traditional *tikanga/customs* and *kawa/protocols* can be shared and expressed in Māori terms, adhering to traditional Māori cultural values.

The celebration of Māori tamariki tāne/boys' rites of passage (Stephenson, 2006), including birth, death, weddings, beginning school, graduation, 21st birthday celebrations, tangihanga/*funerals*, powhiri/*formal welcomes*, whaikōrero/*formal speech making* and special mihimihi/*tributes*, are as significant for them as they are for any other boy, irrespective of ethnicity. Yet for me such positive celebrations of these rites of passage for Māori tamariki tāne/boys went unseen in my Westerncentric world where Pākehā norms went unchallenged and were accepted as public understandings of celebratory rights and rituals (Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). It occurred to me that the cultural domination experienced by Māori tamariki tāne/boys in a Pākehā dominated society must be a significant contributor to the mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* they experience when they enter the mainstream education system. When Māori tamariki tāne/boys enter school at the age of five there may often be a disconnect between what they know and how they define that knowing with what is mandated as important knowledge in the school's curriculum (Thaman, 1993). This phenomenon is exacerbated the longer a Māori student participates in the mainstream schooling process (Bishop et al., 2009). The personal and cultural strengths, intellectual capabilities, and prior accomplishments (Gay, 2010) that *Māori tamariki tāne/boys* present with upon entry to the mainstream education system are often disregarded by or are invisible to teachers who are not culturally aware, have inherent cultural biases, and/or default to deficit models when thinking about Māori student achievement.

SECTION 6 The Importance of Knowing

I no longer believed the genesis of the mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* experienced by Māori tamariki tāne/boys explored above lay in their enrolment in main stream education at age five, however. As a teacher of English one of the things that interested me was the powerful influence the media had on constructing stereotypical depictions of Māori tamariki tāne/boys and how it served the hegemonic discourse of the dangerous Other (Allen & Bruce, 2017). The media's portrayal of Māori youth as deviant and delinquent contributes to the mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* Māori tamariki tāne/boys experience and denies them access to the strong indigenous heroes mentioned above. From the mid-20th century film and television have constructed a commercially lucrative reality of what it was to be a young man. Cult films like *The Wild One* (1953), starring Marlon Brando, *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), starring James Dean, and *Wild in the Country* (1961), starring Elvis Presley, provided a post war

AotearoaNew Zealand audience with an emerging paradigm which romanticised and defined young men as wild, rebellious, restless, and misunderstood. American sitcoms like *Happy Days* (1974–1984) made the wild and the dangerous desirable by bringing into our living rooms each week fictional characters like *The Fonz*, played by Henry Winkler. The *Fonz* perpetuated the myth of the tortured anti-hero, romanticising delinquent youth culture by personifying rebellion, defiance and mōriroriro/ *alienation* in a carefully stylised, sanitised and so-called safe versions of male teenage ātetenga/*resistance*.

Westerncentric (Thomas, P. D., 2009) hegemonic ideology reinforced the 1950s stereotypical definitions of the troubled youth. In the 1990s however, I observed a significant shift in the mainstream media and witnessed the displacement of this romanticised, sanitised construct forever. Lee Tamahori's acclaimed AotearoaNew Zealand film *Once Were Warriors* (1994) exploded onto the big screen fashioning a leviathan, a far more menacing anti-hero for AotearoaNew Zealand audiences. When I first watched Arahanga's depiction of Nig Heke, the oldest son of Beth and Jake Heke, I found his interpretation of the character and his dramatic performance an unrelenting assault on my Pākehā sensibilities. I had no terms of reference or prior knowledge to make comparisons between what I saw (fiction) and what was reality (fact). The film not only frightened me but sadly it reinforced many of the stereotypes I had grown up with. This subversion of fact with fiction in the medium of film created a pseudo reality that ineradicably defined Māori as Other and Māori tamariki tāne/boys as something even more menacing than the wild, rebellious, restless, and misunderstood ruffians and hooligans of the 1950s. The film *Once Were Warriors* was yet another catalyst for a more insidious definition of Māori tamariki tāne/boys *promulgated in the 21st century* and ensured that the sanitised and benevolent Hollywood version of the troubled youth that audiences had come to know and understand vicariously was gone forever.

Having taught film in senior high school for nearly two decades I felt Communicado Productions, Lee Tamahori, and *Once Were Warriors* contributed to the development of a new genre in film and in literature which indelibly etched Other as savage, without the modifier noble, into the minds of Pākehā. Barnes A. M., Taiapa, Borell, & McCreanor (2013) argue:

When racism is promulgated on a number of fronts, including the media, it becomes a powerful and pervasive force in

society, detrimentally impacting on the lives of those who are its object. (p. 63).

Film and television continued over the next three and a half decades to perpetuate the myth of dysfunction and danger making it synonymous with Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* and their place in youth culture. As a teacher I watched this alienating paradigm bleed into the AotearoaNew Zealand education system where Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* found themselves powerless to alter this erroneous construct of themselves.

SECTION 7 The Power of Binaries

As a young woman in the 1990s the visual juxtaposition of the dangerous Māori with the indulgent Pākehā created in *Once Were Warriors* (1994) instilled in me an irrational fear of Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* that I did not know personally. If I found myself alone in that situation, I immediately had a visceral negative reaction. The constant interrogation of self, required of me as an autoethnographer, was often painful as I repeatedly confronted my prejudices, insecurities and assumptions. As I interacted with the participants, such as Kaharoa as a member of my staff, I came to realise that my fear of Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* was nothing more than a response to an urban myth made real by the medium of film. My perceptions were nothing more than a construct of danger personified by the actions of an actor in a visual medium. I realised that this construction of Māori as a savage and violent avenger did, however, challenge the definition of the archetypical Other discussed above. The change I observed, brought about by the introduction of the character of Nig Heke, was a move away from the romanticised portrayal of the dangerous, yet desirable, rebels portrayed by Elvis Presley, James Dean, and Marlon Brando. I believe this shift challenged Hall's (1996) argument that "fear and desire double for one another and play across the structures of otherness, complicating its politics" (p 446).

With the introduction of Nig Heke a new and more insidiously racist construct now redefined Other (Sadegh, 2008). New definitions of Other supplanted quintessential noble savage with the racialised stereotype of violent Māori primitivism and menacing threat. So, fear and danger solidified the social construction of Otherness (Wall, M., 1997). What I experienced as I reflected on the enormity of such a paradigm shift was a fraying of my already complicated understanding of the politics of Other. When Kaharoa recalled the reality of his lived experience as a 16-year-old tane/*boy* at Papatūānuku High School I saw clearly the reality overlaid with the construct. For him there was no escape. I was ashamed that at that time I had no words to answer Kaharoa when he asked me, "*Do you know the fundamental difference between what*

happened to you in Japan with the 'Piggy Burrows' name calling thing and what happened to me when I was 16 at my school?"

My inability to articulate an answer to Kaharoa's question highlighted for me that Kaharoa lived in a world constrained by, and contained in, binary opposition to the Pākehā world I lived in exclusively. As a sixteen-year-old he had been defined by my Pākehā world as disruptive and noncompliant and it was those Pākehā imperatives that has resulted in his principal requiring him to leave school immediately. I tried to understand why Kaharoa's teachers and principal had lacked an understanding of and respect for his indigenous/*tangata whenua* self. That his rich genealogy, his fluency in the Māori language/*te reo Māori*, and his confidence in bicultural settings were invisible to them, and therefore lacked any currency for those who sought to educate him, defied explanation for me at that time. For the first time I think I really understood the concept of privilege and that was because I applied it to myself. What struck me at that juncture in my research was; here we were, some fifteen years later and as an adult and a teacher himself and he was confirming for me that essentially nothing had changed in any substantial way.

SECTION 8 The Trappings of Privilege

Kaharoa's concern for the Māori students at Papatūānuku High School was evident when he responded to my lack of awareness saying, *"Like I keep telling you whaea, it's happening to our rangatahi right now."* I was beginning to understand that the behaviours that alienated Māori students from their teachers might in fact be strategies those very students cultivated to shield themselves from the cultural biases they encountered at school. My conversations with Kaharoa also helped me to appreciate more deeply Rongo-a-whare's insistence that she should be allowed to change her name. I was shocked when Kaharoa had said, *"I'm not surprised. It is sometimes the only way out."* I reflected for the first time that perhaps Rongo-a-whare and Kaharoa were more passive resisters rather openly defiant or noncompliant students. Their refusal to participate the conflict created by Pākehā imperatives, expectations and covert racism around the misuse of their names could just as easily be interpreted as a strategy used to ensure a sense of self-determination/*mana motuhake* and personal autonomy.

It unsettled my thinking and pricked at my conscience that as a Pākehā I defaulted to expecting compliance from Māori students without ever considering or seeking alternatives to

my expectations. I began to search the data for further examples where participants recalled similar experiences and used these examples to broaden my understanding around the sense of privileged that resulted in such unconscious but deliberate behaviour. Kaharoa had challenged/*wero* my assumption that everyone enjoyed the same privileges and opportunities that I did. In confronting my own biases, I realised I was the personification of dominant, mainstream culture. In Chapter 7 I explore in more detail issues of White privilege (McIntosh, 1988) in relation to my experiences with Papera Hakapia, a Kuia and *rūnanga/tribal group* representative on a sister school's Board of Trustees. I recognised as legitimate Kaharoa's bald frustration at what he saw as Pākehā privilege that made invisible a Māori world view/*te ao Māori* to me and other Pākehā at Papatūānuku High School. When Kaharoa said, "*He mea nui ki a tātau ō tātau whakapapa,*" I do not believe he was trying to undermine me or underline my monolingualism. I think that he was simply articulating a world view that could only be authentically expressed by Māori in the Māori language/*te reo Māori*. That it was necessary for him to say in English, "*It means, our genealogies are important to us. So important that we ... that we would rather hide it away than have you stomp all over it!*" highlighted for me both his ability to stand firmly in two worlds and my lack of bicultural competence.

SECTION 9 Deep Learning

As I engaged more deeply with the data, I observed a pattern of hegemonic imperatives in the language Pākehā, myself included, emerging. My assumptions that AotearoaNew Zealand as an egalitarian society were constantly challenged as more and more examples emerged from the data of emphatic statements teachers made to the participants about their perceptions of Māori students and their negative attitudes and behaviours. Participants recalled being hurt when repeatedly told they were naturally lazy, or naturally artistic, or naturally musical, or not to worry because Māori students did not do well in the sciences or had never coped well with the curriculum of new technologies (Kamira, 2003). Of most concern was one participant recalled being told by a Pākehā staff member that "*he shouldn't worry about his failing grade in Chemistry as Māori students were better off in the trades anyway because they were not suited for university study.*" I found it difficult to believe that such conversations were happening at Papatūānuku High School. I explore these stereotypical assumptions further in Chapter 8 when I discuss the theme of *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination* in relation to Levi's experiences in his Year 12 Mathematics class.

SECTION 10 Emerging Theories

As I worked to analyse the data, I uncovered more and more evidence that supported my posited theory that some of my Pākehā colleagues had a propensity to define Māori collectively, and Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* specifically, as problematic. Borell 2005 confirmed for me the danger of the status quo where:

Rangatahi Māori will be seen as a group with problems to be solved, a group to change or fix, all without recourse to their own understandings (p. 191).

I could already see a pattern emerging from the data of unchallenged assumptions that Rangatahi Māori did in fact have problems that staff described as needing to be fixed. What troubled me as I reflected on these assumptions was the dogmatic perspective such assumptions were promulgated from.

It was through this measured analysis of the data and my growing conscientisation of the process of colonisation experienced by Māori over the past one hundred and fifty years that I began to look for examples of the things Kaharoa knew as a result of his early indigenous education (Hemara, 2000). What had been invisible to me was the huge advantage Kaharoa's deep sense of self and a strong sense of *ahurea tuakiri/cultural identity* (Macfarlane A. H., 2004) was to him as a person. I realised he possessed significant knowledge of his own *tāhuhu kōrero/tribal history*, *kapa haka/Māori performing arts*, *tā moko/traditional tattooing*, *whaikōrero/formal speech making*, *whakaputa/hunting*, and *tāmata/cultivation*, none of which had ever been recognised as important in the curriculum he studied as a high school student. I had been unaware of this rich knowledge base and as a school we had never discussed in an open forum the idea that Māori students possessed rich cultural competencies (Education Council New Zealand, 2011) that could in fact inform not only curriculum design but our gifted and talented programme (Jenkins, Moltzen, & MacFarlane, 2004; Mahuika, 2007) as well. Bourdieu (1989) argues that if educators fail to understand the importance of the cultural capital children carry with them, they remain blind to the systemic domination of minorities by hegemonic paradigms of success. Kaharoa, like Rongo-a-whare, displayed a level of acceptance that things could not be changed that made me both sad and uncomfortable. I wondered if I would have ever accepted my child coming home from school and telling me of some injustice or another and us accepting as a family, "*that's just the way it is.*"

I began to theorise about why Kaharoa displayed a resilience and belief in his own abilities that had enabled him to reject the Pākehā definitions at school of who he was. The first thing I noticed that set him apart was his descriptions of the positive affirmation he had received from his pōua/*grandfather*, who he described as his first kaiārahi/*teacher*. His grandfather had given him the taonga/*gift* of fluency in *te reo* Māori/Māori language and other cultural artefacts of significance. I questioned whether it was Kaharoa's confidence in himself that had in some way contributed to his mōriroriro/*alienation* from school. His uncompromising challenge to his teacher and his acquiescence to the principal's suggestion he leaves belies any sense of failure on his part. A conundrum for a later date and for future research perhaps? When talking with participants about their challenges they too spoke of having to traverse an educational landscape often pitted with staff interactions that diminished and marginalised them.

Kaharoa's narrative could have spoken as strongly to the theme of ahurea tuakiri/*identity*, but I chose to use it here to explore the theme of mōriroriro/*cultural alienation*. Kaharoa's narrative is a powerful analogy for the experiences face by so many Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system. As an experienced Pākehā AotearoaNew Zealand educationalist, it was more than unsettling to realise that Māori students felt marginalised at Papatūānuku High School and that this was not a new phenomenon. When Kaharoa said, "*It happened to me at this school, and it is happening to Māori students in our school right now,*" I began to unpick that egalitarian philosophy so eloquently expressed by Pākehā: that everyone has an equal opportunity in this country and if they fail it is only because they do not work hard enough. I began to question this and the many other assumptions inherent in meritocratic arguments used by the privileged to explain away Māori failure and disadvantage.

Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Every (2005) argue that "meritocracy has a strong flavour of individualism that privileges the stance of egalitarianism. In turn, this position serves the interests of the status quo while obscuring the benefits, which accrue to the dominant groups within society" (p. 331). I began to interrogate my own thinking around how and why our school systems and structures put an emphasis on individual success as opposed to collective success and on competition rather than collaboration. Although we encouraged House cohesiveness and comradery, we still used assemblies, for example, to celebrate individual success and emphasise the importance of "doing it for yourself" if you were to achieve academic success. It was a chilling experience to consider that a teacher's perception of a student as good or bad, worthy or unworthy, directly affected their life chances (Durie, A. E., 1998). What had been opaque

for me in that scenario until my thinking had been challenged was how the cultural conflict experienced by Māori tamariki tāne/boys at school disrupted equal access for them of all the rewards school purports to offer. The reality for Kaharoa had been exclusion from a of school system that had never recognised his skills talent, or abilities, nor had it ever been an equitable playing field for him.

SECTION 11 Positing Hypothesise

This chapter built on what I had already learnt about issues of ahurea tuakiri/*identity* and explored the theme of mōriroriro/*cultural alienation* in relation to the inequity in education for Māori tamariki tāne/boys. It is posited here that many Māori tamariki tāne/boys are constantly exposed to the deficit thinking (Garcia & Guerra, 2004) by many teachers who lack an in-depth understanding of te ao Māori/*the Māori World* and therefore punish behaviour they interpret as naughty or defiant. It is suggested here that this lack contributes to the social and political contradictions experienced by Māori tamariki tāne/boys. The data suggested that labels applied to Māori tamariki tāne/boys in mainstream education, that describe them as disinterested, nonconformist, naughty, disruptive, and rebellious (Bishop et al., 2003) contributes to their exodus from the classroom, or worse their expulsion from school, often before many of them turn sixteen, the legal age for leaving school in AotearoaNew Zealand.

Despite his bilingualism, strong sense of ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* and his ability to walk confidently in both the Māori and the Pākehā world, at age sixteen Kaharoa was lost to the education system. I reflected on the sad irony that the best the Aotearoa New Zealand education system could do when charged with educating Māori tamariki tāne/boys was to do so from a Pākehā world view, a view that failed to recognise the essence of who these tane/boys were. Kaharoa's explanation that "*He mea nui ki a tātau ō tātau whakapapa/genealogies are important to us,*" was more than a passing reference to an interest in whānau/*family history*. For him the ability to identify himself and make connections through knowing his whakapapa/*genealogical linkages* was the keystone when asserting personal whānau/*family identity*. For this gifted young man, attending Papatūānuku High School in the 1990s was an alienating experience because in the context of the classroom his personal identity was defined as problematic. The school's systems, structures, and rituals did not make room for the real Kaharoa, whose alienation stemmed from his experiences of aukati iwi/*racism*, and from an inability to find either the space or the opportunity to express his own unique ahurea tuakiri/*cultural identity* at school. When I asked Kaharoa what his response had been his classroom teacher, he had replied, "Well I said, fuck you! and I left. I walked out of that school,

out of that life and that was the end of high school for me.” His frustration at what he perceived to be the teacher’s insult to his *mana whakaheke/birth right* was expressed in a way that was unacceptable to his teachers and his principal at that time, and he accepted in hindsight to his *whānau/family* as well. In attending a mainstream secondary school that normalised the aspirations and values of a dominant Pākehā culture there appeared to Kaharoa to be no room for him as a Māori taiohi/*Māori adolescent* and no nurturing of his Māoritanga/*Māori cultural practices and beliefs*, aspirations, or dreams.

A review of the literature (Hemara, 2000), suggests that over the past one hundred- and fifty-years Māori have experienced the construction of a dominant narrative that legitimises the view that disruptive Māori tamariki tāne/boys are pathologically disengaged and that is why they fail miserably in New Zealand schools. Lee (1996) argues that “Black males encounter formidable challenges to their educational development and many of them experience a serious stifling of achievement, aspiration, and pride in school systems” (p. 5). P. Stanley (2003) appears to support Lee’s view, pointing out that “in research Māori men are only ever portrayed as ‘the problem’ and are never portrayed as part of a solution” (p. 81). The national statistics for Māori educational achievement over the past four decades appear to validate both Lee’s (1996) assertion that indigenous students’ educational achievement is stifled and P. Stanley’s (2003) assertions that their behaviour is interpreted as problematic. I began to question the AotearoaNew Zealand education system reliance on comparing and measuring Māori student achievement against national and international norms, benchmarking tests and surveys that were, I realised, embedded in Western hegemonic values and ideals. It occurred to me that if Pākehā continued to privilege Pākehā knowledge and norms as the yardstick used for measuring student success, nothing would change for Māori.

Tomlins-Jahnke (2008) makes a useful contribution to the call for change when she argues:

State education is perceived by indigenous communities as [an] alienating system[s], over reliant on a uniform provision of education services that are bureaucratic, hierarchical and unresponsive to the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples (p. 2).

Kaharoa’s anecdote raised questions for me about the assumptions around behaviour that many Pākehā teachers make when Māori tamariki tāne/boys assert themselves in the classroom. I was

not surprised that Kaharoa vehemently refused to be called Karl by his teacher. What saddened me was Kaharoa's perception that his teacher saw him as the problem. Kaharoa recalls the teacher gave no consideration to the possibility that it was his inability to pronounce his name correctly that might have been the root cause of the problem. This teacher, like many before him and many after him, inferred that any instance of student defiance must be the student's problem. It is accepted that if a student swears at a teacher that student should suffer a consequence for being rude. It is also accepted here that all teachers have the secondary responsibility for the culture of the classroom and must therefore be cognisant of their own contribution to any altercation that occurs. Age is not a determining factor in culpability and if a teacher is implicated in an altercation then they too should expect an appropriate consequence. When I asked Kaharoa what his teacher's response to his challenging outburst was he replied, *"He told me I was a trouble maker and threw me out of his class. He sent me to the principal."*

The suggestion, no matter how well intentioned, by Kaharoa's White, middle-class secondary school principal/*tumuaki* that he should leave school because it would be *"the best thing for everyone concerned,"* suggests the culture of hegemonic collusion, that while invisible to Pākehā, permeates the AotearoaNew Zealand education system. Kaharoa personifies the dichotomy, that is, a school hierarchy designed to support all students but fails many Māori tamariki tāne/boys who seek but do not find that assistance. Kaharoa was quick to affirm *"the Principal was nice enough, and he was one we knew cared about us,"* but he went on to describe how even though he felt the principal cared he still encouraged him to leave. It is hard to fathom how a sixteen-year-old Māori tamariki tāne/boys feels when the school's *tumuaki/principal* says, *"Kaharoa, I think it is time for you to go."* The pain and pathos that underpinned his description of that encounter was reflected in his statement, *"I was 16 years old and I knew right then and there that there was no point in arguing with him. I knew he had already had his mind made up about me."* The fact that the memory was still a raw wound after all the intervening years, and after all Kaharoa had achieved subsequently, was palpable.

SECTION 12 Summary

The Challenge to Change

My secondary research question asked what *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies would look like if they were culturally appropriate and resonated with Māori students and if such practices were adopted by Pākehā leaders would there be a corresponding improvement in Māori educational achievement and enjoyment of school? Framed around that question was the search for new

knowledge and possible insights into changes I explored that might resonate with, impact positively on, and make a significant difference to, the experiences of school for participants and their whānau/families. I described here those possibilities in relation to my three selves, as discussed in Chapter 3, where I am the researcher, the principal, and my essential self. I have used here a nontechnical way of capturing the very broad colloquial concept of self (Foody et al., 2011).

The Researcher - Self as Process

In Chapter 4 I explored the opportunity autoethnography provided a researcher to explore the world around them and confront unexpected anomalies that challenged their often-entrenched view of that familiar world. As an autoethnographic researcher Chapter 5 provided me with an opportunity to explore my own world and uncover previously hidden truths about myself as Pākehā. Here in Chapter 5 I explore my taken for granted assumptions; that I was an openminded individual, that I had an astute understanding of what it meant to be an AotearoaNew Zealander, that school was a level playing field, that if you took personal responsibility for your learning journey teachers would be there to guide, that I always recognised injustice, and that I was not a deficit thinker. It was my data that challenged those long held assumptions and reinforced for me that I was not as worldly-wise as I had thought. I felt challenged when Kaharoa said, *“Imagine when you pointed out that you were tired of hearing your name mispronounced you got told not to be so stupid, or got shouted at, or worse you got publicly humiliated when people laughed at you for stressing the small stuff!”* His question forced me to step into the frame as a participant in that tableau, requiring me to live the experience and not merely describe what I observed. This was an aha moment for me and led me to much deeper and personal reflections about my relationships with him, with Māori students, and their whānau/families.

Through crafting Kaharoa’s nonfiction narrative I realised that after more than thirty years as a professional educator I had been oblivious to the occurrences he described. In my world an early exit from high school would have been considered an anathema that would not have been tolerated by my family. I had to accept that I too was a deficit thinker and was embarrassed at how often I had heard members of my family affirm, “Māori cannot apply themselves and that is why they fail.” I cringed at the inherent racism of that assumption and the damage such articulated stereotypes cause in the lives of not only tane/boys, but all Māori involved in AotearoaNew Zealand’s education system. As an autoethnographic researcher I

used these feelings of unease and embarrassment to confront my new reality, that being, not everyone enjoyed the same support or advantages I had as a student in the AotearoaNew Zealand Education System.

Although the rhetoric of the provision of free education, quality physical buildings, a broad and accessible curriculum, and trained and qualified teachers has abounded throughout my professional career I did not see irrefutable evidence of equity in the achievement rates at Papatūānuku High School. In Fact, as mentioned in Chapter 1, my data showed disparities between our Māori and Pākehā students that mirrored the national data. Kaharoa's comment "*we would rather hide it away*" brought home to me that Māori students at Papatūānuku High School did not experience equity of opportunity nor did they receive the same reward to the same achievement when compared to their Pākehā peers. When I reflected on my data, I began to see that the rhetoric of equality was a carefully constructed dialogue which served to preserve the status quo. If Kaharoa's experience revealed anything to me at that moment it was the power of the myth of universal access, equal opportunity, and clear educational pathways in education for Māori. Reflecting on Rongo-a-whare's, and now Kaharoa's, experiences suggested to me that unless Māori students were prepared to exhibit attributes and behaviours that mirrored Pākehā norms when they were at school they were often labelled and described as noncompliant, disruptive, defiant, or deviant.

My taken-for-granted assumptions that school was a level playing field and that if you took personal responsibility for your learning journey teachers would be there to guide and help you were flayed when Kaharoa said, "*You might be surprised to know that my name is one of the reasons I got thrown out of this school.*" By placing myself in that tableau I could see more clearly equal opportunity was nothing more than a hegemonic façade. The unexpected paradigm shift I experienced at that time came when I realised the significance of Vromen's (1995) explanation that the:

"public sphere fluctuates between denoting a facade of legitimization that is capable of being deployed in diverse ways and denoting a mechanism for controlling the perception of what is relevant for society" (p. 2).

Kaharoa's nonfiction narrative was the repository for all the data I collected that spoke to me of the alienation Māori tamariki tāne/boys feel when exposed to the power of the silent mechanism that is hegemonic domination (Freire, 1972). His account of the visceral reaction he had to the mocking of his name, when he shouted at his teacher, "*fuck you!*" and his explanation that he simply walked out, "*I left. I walked out of this school, out of that life and that was the end of high school for me,*" confirmed for me that there were no checks and balances, no safety nets in place to ensure cultural safety or the provision of culturally safe environments for Māori students.

The Pākehā cultural imperatives that underpin the AotearoaNew Zealand education system effectively alienate Māori tamariki tāne/boys as teenagers, when they are at their most vulnerable. As the insider researcher I reflected on Kaharoa's abrupt ejection from formal education and the myriad of reasons he and other young Māori tamariki tāne/boys find themselves outside the school gate with no qualifications, few options, and often with a deep sense of personal failure and anger. What struck me was how little research data there was that explored the voices of Māori tamariki tāne/boys. The data that did exist (Hokowhitu, 2003; Bishop & Berryman, 2006) highlighted that Māori tamariki tāne/boys assumed that the treatment regularly meted out to them was "*how it was*". That Māori tamariki tāne/boys sometimes lashed out when judgments were made about was described in the data as their response to teachers who did not see them for who they really were. The pervading hegemonic discourses surrounding Māori tamariki tāne/boys in state school mainstream settings constructed a limited, homogenised image of Māori masculinity that was persistently violent, unpredictable, and unreliable (Hokowhitu, 2003; Porteous, 2016). Kaharoa's was told quite emphatically by his principal/ *tumuaki* that, "*School isn't the place for you; we both know you've out grown it I think.*" This euphemistic justification for Kaharoa's exiting from school failed to consider his feelings about being made to leave school with no qualifications and struggling with feelings of inferiority, insignificance, anger, and hurt.

Fortunately, Kaharoa had the resilience it took to survive such harsh judgement in his formative years and after beginning his professional career in Kapahaka/Māori performing arts he lived the Kaupapa/Māori principles and ideologies when he travelled international. Young Māori who lack such resilience or whānau/family support often express their mōriroriro/cultural alienation through violent behaviour, drug addiction, unemployment, and the abuse of themselves and others. For these young men it is only once they have broken free from the rigid confines of a system dominated by hegemonic understandings of compliance that they can

actualise their true indigenous selves. In observing Māori students from Kura Kaupapa Māori/Māori immersion schools, (Smith, G. H., 2012) where all curriculum was underpinned by a philosophical base of *aho matua* (Education Review Office, 2002) I began to recognise the strength derived from such an approach (Berryman Egan, & Ford, 2017). Kaharoa's nonfiction narrative was an important turning point for me as researcher, because it allowed me to reflect on what I came to understand as entrenched barriers, biases, and racist approaches that had until then been invisible to me as a Pākehā educator. That experiencing such barriers, biases, and racist approaches was the lived reality for many Māori students at Papatūānuku High School was a confronting revelation.

I used Kaharoa's nonfiction narrative to underscore my theory that not only are Māori students often oblivious to the lies that deficit assumptions create about them, but so too are many of the teachers who teach them. The realisation that challenging my existing professional practice and initiating changes to what I had long considered so-called best practice was more than a daunting challenge, because it required a metamorphosis from practice to praxis. For the first time I understood on a personal level the inseparability of action and analysis (Smith, G. H., Hoskins, & Jones, A., 2012).

The Principal - self as context

I found it is not enough to discover these things as a researcher and write about them in an academic sense. If things were to change, I realised I had to change. As a principal the implications for knowing that an alternative and painful reality existed for Māori tamariki tāne/boys at Papatūānuku High School was huge for me and not something once learnt I could ignore. For me and for other nonindigenous educationalists at Papatūānuku High School, identifying and addressing the multiple challenges that Māori tamariki tāne/boys faced in our school needed to become a specific focus; it needed to be acknowledged as part of our core business. I found myself challenging conventional thinkers who argued that all students in the mainstream AotearoaNew Zealand education system negotiate a level playing field. I found an ally in Tompkins (2002), whose own self-study of White teachers in rural Nova Scotia reinforced the notion that members of dominant groups do not define problems of inequity in terms of dominant oppression, but define such inequity using deficit models and a culture of blame. I found Fullan's (2011a), concept of the change leader as a useful prop when discussing my motivation developing and expanding my pedagogical practice with staff. Immersed in the data as I was these conversations centred around sharing my experiences and challenging staff to look at our school as the research field. I reiterated that our collective challenge was to avoid

privileging research evidence from other countries and applying established theory when we had the potential to produce grounded theory by looking at what worked at Papatūānuku High School and why it worked.

I acknowledged that change in this instance would be a long, slow process given the number of staff members who openly challenged my motives. Comments like, “*which bit of your thesis are we writing for you today, Peggy?*” illustrated the lack of understanding of the role of the insider researcher and a lack of awareness of the importance, in a South Island context, of undertaking research into Māori students’ experiences at your own school. Comments like, “*why would you bother when we only have a few Māori students anyway?*” also punctuated the conversations I had with many staff. I used these conversations and comments to introduce the concept of deficit thinking. The dilemma I faced as a result of this strategy was staff ātetenga/resistance when they perceived they were being undermined or insulted. A regular response from such staff was, “*well I know I’m not racist, I treat all my students the same.*” As discussed earlier this phrase is an often-repeated anthem for the deficit thinker and contributes to enhanced teacher ātetenga/resistance in the current school climate in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I recalled Fullan’s (2011b) advice that “you can’t find the answers outside yourself – you have to start inside and look for the best external connections to further your own thinking and action” (p. vii). Within the context of my *hautūtanga/leadership* role at Papatūānuku High School, and more specifically within the context of my daily interaction with Māori tamariki tāne/boys, I made a conscious decision to adopt aspects of kaupapa Māori/Māori principles. Hohepa (2013) is helpful here when she cautions educational leaders that “the identification of a Māori educational *hautūtanga/leadership* style would encourage stereotypical views and misrepresent the wide range of approaches to be found within Māori educational *hautūtanga/leadership*” (p. 621). This is a salient point for a Pākehā autoethnographer focussed on adopting bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* strategies to improve Māori student outcomes. As a nonindigenous educational leader, it was an important insight and a timely reminder that the discourse around Māori *hautūtanga/leadership* belongs with Māori. Pākehā educational leaders who seek to define Māori *hautūtanga/leadership* as a specific style risk creating yet another unitary construct in binary opposition to Pākehā *hautūtanga/leadership*. To avoid the inevitable colonisation of Māori *hautūtanga/leadership* practice I therefore focussed on Māori *hautūtanga/leadership* principles described by Hohepa (2013) in terms of “knowledge, values,

nature of duties, practices, commitments, and responsibilities that underpin *hautūtanga/leadership*, rather than in terms of a *hautūtanga/leadership* style” (p. 621).

Although I focussed in this chapter on Kaharoa’s experiences of *mōriroriro/alienation*, his nonfiction narrative could just as easily frame the same search for *ahurea tuakiri/identity* explored in Chapter 3 through Rongo-a-whare’s nonfiction narrative. Kaharoa’s experience in the sixth form at Papatūānuku High School in the 1990s highlights the interchangeable nature of the themes that emerged from the data. It was by mining the data and searching for the interconnectivity of the themes that emerged was able to begin to theorise about new ways to lead that might better accommodate bicultural approaches that would resonate more fluidly with Māori. Waitere (2008) sums up the challenge I had set myself when she argues:

“We need to find the courage to ask today, what are the implications for educational *hautūtanga/leadership* when framed within the needs of a cultural group to retain a cultural identity?” (p. 37).

Having interrogated the data gathered about the experiences of Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* I became more forceful in my articulation of the view that as professional educators we were responsible for ensuring the level playing field was more than an aspiration. I suggested publicly that Māori tamariki tāne/*boys*’ achievement was continually compromised due to hegemonic imperatives that undermined real success. I shared the work of Shields (2012) with senior staff, to help me reinforce the view that, “understanding the educational context in which we exercise *hautūtanga/leadership* is critically important” (p. vii). I argued that without a growing conscientisation around the needs and aspirations of our Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* in their own educational setting we would continue to perpetuate the disparities evident in our National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA). I emphasised that we would only ever achieve isolated pockets of excellence, often dependent on a unique teacher, at a time, with a specific group of students, if we did not change our perceptions around one of the richest resources we have in our school: Māori tamariki tāne/*boys*. Sadly, not only did such a view make me unpopular in some quarters I was often challenged by individuals who affirmed that parity between Māori and Pākehā would only be achieved when Māori made some drastic changes to their approach and attitude. My frustration at such deficit thinking was also interpreted as me having unrealistic expectations and being too long out of the classroom.

The Essential Self - self as content

As teachers we can always recall times when our students have touched our very souls. Those are the times that we have watched with passionate and almost reverential attachment to them beat the odds and achieve the seeming impossible. Or they are the times when our students have grown from gangly, awkward twelve-year-olds to poised and confident eighteen-year-olds who pass before us on that graduation stage. As I sat and listened to Kaharoa reflect on his experience of his last day at high school at age sixteen, my heart bled. On a personal level I tried to fathom what it must feel like to say, *“The first time I ever came back was when you offered me this job,”* and know that the system responsible for that gross injustice was the very same system that had supported me in every endeavour, in both my formative years and as I transitioned into adult life. When reflecting on how my conversation with Kaharoa had changed me I began with a comparison of his experience and the experiences of my own two children had had attending state schools in AotearoaNew Zealand. The connectivity my children enjoyed with school was reflected in the language they spoke, the clothes they wore, the friends they made, the benefits they enjoyed and behaviours they had learned at home that reflected the behaviours expected of them at school. In all aspects, in all areas they received positive affirmation of who they were each and every school day.

What affected me most as a person, a mother, and as an AotearoaNew Zealander was truly understanding for the first time what it meant to be indigenous in our country. I reflected on the foreign fee-paying students, who studied at Papatūānuku High School but returned home two or three times during the academic year for what I would describe as cultural top ups. Kaharoa reminded me that for Māori students there was nowhere for them to retreat to when they needed total immersion in their language and culture because as he so eloquently pointed out, *“we are home and until Pākehā make some changes and accept that they need to learn the tikanga and learn the Māori language/reo, it can and will never change for us!”*

Final Thoughts

Kaharoa is translated into English as *the Net*. There is a whakataukī/proverb that says, *“Ka pa te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi/ When the old net is worn out and cast aside, the new net is put into use.”* When Kaharoa presented at age five to his nearest state school, he was a living *taonga*, he was that *“new net,”* but he was never *“put to use.”* As a carefully crafted living treasure/*taonga*, fluent in te reo Māori and confident and relaxed in tikanga Māori/*Māori customs, protocols and procedures*, he functioned as a repository for all the knowledge of his iwi’s whakapapa/*genealogy*. Yet Papatūānuku High School failed to appreciate the gift that was

Kaharoa, in the same way that the AotearoaNew Zealand education system fails to appreciate the potential of adopting bicultural approaches to teaching and learning/*ako*.

Kaharoa's nonfiction narrative speaks to the researcher, the principal, and the individual, not just as an anecdote of injustice, or lost potential but also as a personal memoir of a young Māori male with a unique worldview underpinned by a specific set of beliefs and values that were invisible to the compulsory world of school where he spent more than eight hours of his everyday life day. That Kaharoa was able to coexist in the duality of diametrically opposed realities that required of him an understanding of and relationships with the Pākehā world is astonishing. His alienation resulted not in his inability to cope, but in his unwillingness to conform to a system that failed to recognise the intrinsic value of an alternative worldview and to positively embrace that phenomenon in order to create a learning environment where he could grow and succeed.

As a result of Kaharoa sharing his experience with me my new learning was three-fold: first as a researcher I learned that I could effect a positive change by employing bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* practices that considered the values inherent in a Māori world view – it was a theory in the making. Second, I learned as a principal that by challenging and interrogating what I had always done as an educational leader I could avoid perpetuating dominant racist representations of Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* as unwilling learners, lacking in discipline and ability. Finally, my essential self was irrevocably changed. I developed a new empathy born of my vicarious experience of the alienation Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* like Kaharoa suffer. I saw clearly the moral imperative of equity in education, and I came to understand that such alienation stems from Westerncentric imperatives that cast Pākehā boys as normal and Māori tamariki tāne/*boys* as abnormal.

Ko taku reo taku ohoo, ko taku reo taku mapihi mauria
My language is my awakening, my language is the window to my soul

CHAPTER SIX ĀTETENGA/RESISTANCE

SECTION 1 Or Was It Something More?

Prologue 23rd March 2015

I open up KAMAR and type in Honey's name. Clicking on the attendance screen I note the loud line of Es, that parade across the screen! I sigh deeply, disappointed when I see that Honey has been marked absent for the second week in a row. Although I am not surprised, I am saddened that she has resisted all my attempts to get her back to school. I reach for the phone, thinking to myself, perhaps this time. The phone rings twice and is immediately answered.

"Kia ora," a young voice responds. I know it is not Honey, so I reply brightly,

"Kia ora, it's Peggy Burrows speaking, may I speak to Honey please?"

"Sure, just a sec." The phone is dropped unceremoniously onto a hard surface.

Then ...

"Kia ora," says a voice I know well.

"Kia ora, Honey," I reply with genuine enthusiasm. "How are you?"

There is a slight pause. I wait in silent anticipation.

"I'm ok whaea, how are you?"

"Ka pai e hoa," I reply.

"So, I notice you haven't been to school yet. Are you coming back this year?"

There is a long pause ...

MAY 2013 (22 months before Prologue - 23rd March 2015)

[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:131022]

Transitioning

Honey moved from Auckland with her family to the South Island and enrolled as a Year 10 student at Papatūānuku High School in May 2013. Her entrance data is very positive and places her in the top 10% of her cohort. Her Dean placed her in a mid-band class because the A Bands are full at this late stage of the year. In my role as principal, and not as a mentor, I met with Honey when she arrived. She has been buddied with two Māori students and presents as happy and relaxed. I discussed with her how she was finding her new school. She appears open and positive. Following this meeting I made a note on KAMAR to check her Junior Graduation data at the end of the year.

DECEMBER 2013 (15 months before Prologue - 23rd March 2015)

[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:131202]

Touching Base

I checked in with Honey today. I told her how pleased I am with her progress. She is such a find! Given it's only been four weeks since her arrival she seems to have made a positive transition into her new school environment. Her achievement data reveals real strengths: "90% for PE, 85% for Languages, 96% for Mathematics, 77% for Science and 90% for Art. Her academic attainment during Term 4 places her in the

top 10% of our Year 10 cohort as they transition into Year 11 and Level 1 NCEA. I have put a “call up” flag on her KAMAR file and will check her progress in Week 3, Term 1, 2014.

FEBRUARY 2014 (*13 months before Prologue - 23rd March 2015*)

[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:140211]
Well-Being Audit

I met Honey briefly today. I told her how pleased I am that she is back here at school with us and how much I am looking forward to the year ahead. We talked about her holiday in *Ākarana/Auckland* and her goal to achieve Level 1, NCEA. She indicated her Mum and Dad said they might let her go back home, if she works hard to get all her credits. She was keen to join the Kapahaka Group and said she was looking forward to Science as she had a nice teacher. I am pleased to hear she has made some new friends. She is such a lovely student. Perhaps a Ngā Manu Kōrero contestant? (Ngā Manu Kōrero is an annual National Māori Secondary School Speech Competition in Aotearoa New Zealand.) Hope so!

APRIL 2014 (*11 months before Prologue - 23rd March 2015*)

[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:140416]
Credit Check

Term 1 has flown by and I tried to catch up with Honey today, but it seems she has already left for a holiday in the North Island already. Pity because I wanted to congratulate her on the wonderful results for Term 1. She achieved 15 of the 22 credits offered and has near perfect attendance. Such a great start to NCEA. Will make sure I catch up with her when she gets back for Term 2 to complete the goal setting session then.

MAY 2014 (*10 months before Prologue - 23rd March 2015*)

[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:140505]
Call Up

I expected to catch up with Honey today. She wasn't in class and her friends told me she was at a family funeral in Auckland and was expected back next week. I will put her on Call Up for Friday, 5 May 2014.

SEPTEMBER 2014 (*6 months before Prologue - 23rd March 2015*)

[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:140917]
Credit Check

Completed the scheduled Credit Check. Disappointing to note Honey's file has not been updated. I initially thought it was an administration error. The only NCEA Credits achieved were those recorded in April 2014. There have been no Pastoral Entries since April 2014 either. The daily attendance information is extremely disappointing. From the Friday, 29th of May 2014 through until today, the Thursday, 17th of September, Honey has not been at school. It begs the question “How can a student be absent a total of 14 weeks and no one noticed or brought the matter to my attention?”

SEPTEMBER 2014 (6 months before Prologue - 23rd March 2015)

[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:140920]

Self-reflection

Where did the system break down? The students had access to Peer Support Leaders, as well I was paying Form Teachers, Deans, Head of Houses, Guidance Counsellors, a Te Reo Māori Teacher, a Student Advocate, an Attendance Officer, Heads of Faculty, Deputy Principals to look after students! I have introduced systems for school-wide communication and soft and hardware to provide contact with families; and yet none of it has been enough. I am at loss to understand what more I could have done, and I am angry with myself that I obviously haven't done enough! Why didn't I pick this up sooner! I will put this on the senior *hautūtanga/leadership* team meeting for Monday. I am sick of the "kick and flick" attitude of some staff when faced with students who would they think are too difficult to control in class!"

SEPTEMBER 2014 (6 months before Prologue - 23rd March 2015)

[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:140922]

Action Plan

I arranged to meet with Honey to find out what happened. I shouted her morning tea at the Blue Rooster cafe and told her I was surprised she had been away from school for so long. It was a long anecdote, but she shared with me that she is unhappy at Papatūānuku High School, misses her family in Auckland and wants to go home. She said the students down here had been nice to her but the tikanga, kawa and the language are different. I tried to convince her it would get easier and it was important that she comes back to school. I had made a folder containing all her transition data from 2013, her 2014 NCEA achievement data, and her attendance data. I gave her the folder and went through her achievement data with her. I explained repeatedly how talented I knew she was. I was surprised at her humility and that fact she had no idea how bright she was.

SEPTEMBER 2014 (6 months before Prologue - 23rd March 2015)

[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:140923]

Follow Up

I met Honey unexpectedly today. I was in the High Street purchasing a bone carving for my Deputy principal's birthday on behalf of the senior *hautūtanga/leadership* team. I invited Honey to help me choose the carving, telling her I needed expert advice. I complemented her on the bone carving she was wearing, only to be told it was her Mum's one because no one had gifted her one yet. I asked her what that meant. She told me that some family bone carvings were really old and were prized taonga. She explained her mother's bone carving had been her great grandmother's and was gifted to her when the old lady had died. I decided to purchase a second bone carving as a gift to her from me and the SLT. I thought that might help her to connect with her new school, which was over one hundred years old, and another place she could call home if she chose to. She said she loved it and thanked me kindly. I dropped her at home and drove back to school uncertain if she had really meant it when she said, "See you on Monday whaea."

... I can hear her breathing softly into the phone. I ask again ... "so what do you think? Are you going to give it another go?"

I can't help feeling this is déjà vu, as I hold my breath waiting for her response.

"Nah whaea, I think I'll just give it a miss and go for a job."

I am aware that Honey has turned 16 now and can choose whether she attends school or not. I have that sinking feeling that returning to school to repeat Year 11 is the least important priority for Honey at that exact moment. In reality, this is a repeat of my conversation with her at the end of Term 3, 2014 when I had tried to convince her to stay at school until the end of Year 11.

"Ok," I say. "But I would like to catch up for a coffee. What do you think?"

"Sure," she replies. "When?"

"What about this afternoon?" I say. "We could talk about the sorts of jobs you can get with 15 Level 1, NCEA credits."

Hanging up the phone I am completely at a loss. "How could this happen?" I asked myself. How can a Decile 9 school, as successful and well-resourced as ours, lose a student as bright and capable as Honey? I wonder if we would have "lost" Honey if she had been the Pākehā daughter of a father who practiced law and a mother who practiced medicine ... sadly I think not!

It was beyond belief that I/we had failed Honey and her whānau!

Damn!

Was it our systems?

Was it teacher apathy?

Was it institutional racism?

Damn! Damn!

Was it poor cultural practices?

Was it a lack of cultural understanding?

Was it a lack of cultural safety?

Damn! Damn! Damn!

Or was it something More?

Damn!

SECTION 2 Ātetenga/Resistance

Introduction

I began this chapter in Section 1 with a nonfiction narrative that could speak as well to the themes of *ahurea tuakiri/identity* or *mōriroriro/alienation* discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Instead, I have used Honey's experience at Papatūānuku High School to personify another prevalent theme that emerged of the data, that of *ātetenga/resistance*. My challenge in this chapter is to acknowledge and own my deficit models of thinking and try to make sense out of events that made no sense to me at that time. That making sense began with an exploration of the anecdotes that focussed on the feelings of powerlessness and frustration recalled by some of the study's participants. I distilled these themes into Honey's nonfiction narrative to personify the concept of Māori student *ātetenga/resistance*. In Section 2 I outline the structure of this chapter with its emphasis on the theme of *ātetenga/resistance* that prevailed in many of the anecdotes where participants described the negative, embarrassing, or demeaning incidents, they experienced at Papatūānuku High School, that made them feel invisible, insignificant, and marginalised. In Section 3 I discuss the powerlessness many participants felt when confronted with a system that continuously disregarded their aspirations. Section 4 provides me with the opportunity to dissect my assumptions around Māori students disengage at school and compare those assumption to the realities the data presented. Uncomfortable new understandings (Wehipeihana, Davidson, McKegg, & Shanker, 2010) emerged as I explored the relationship between *ātetenga/resistance* and cultural reproduction. In Section 5 I juxtapose the literature that challenged my assumptions around *ātetenga/resistance* (Alpert, 1991; Applebaum, 2004; Bidois, 2013; Giroux, 2001; Robinson, & Ward, 1991) with my assumed view that *ātetenga/resistance* was nothing more than age appropriate teenage malady common to adolescents struggling with the formation of the autonomous self. I engage with ideas that could challenge me to work within new paradigms for cultural understanding. Section 6 looks at the realities educational leaders face in working to displace mono-cultural understandings and finally in Section 6 I draw the chapter's threads together, interrogating my own personal musings and my ideas for building bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogical capital.

With my assumptive understandings of *ātetenga/resistance* in relation to Māori students unmasked I sought new understandings that better reflected the lived experiences and perspectives of participants. By accepting the reality of hegemonic domination characterised by Westerncentrism and cultural reproduction I gained a new perspective around how, as a school, we had not considered a *te ao Māori/Māori world view* when attempting to make

meaning. I then explored the importance of communication with Māori and the frustration students feel when they are made invisible by teachers. This led me to an exploration of new possibilities for culturally safe *hautūtanga/leadership* practices and pedagogies. I conclude the chapter with my own musings about new learning and changes I made to address possible gaps in my own pedagogical practice.

SECTION 3 Powerlessness and Frustration

When I first met Honey, the central character in this nonfiction narrative, she was in Year 10 and presented as a happy, confident student who was well supported by *whānau/family*, evidenced by their positive interaction with the school when they brought her to enrol at Papatūānuku High School. I did not want Honey's nonfiction narrative to be an exploration of her, and by association, the other participants,' failure at Papatūānuku High School. In Honey's case her truancy in Term two of 2015 had resulted in her achieving fewer than the required 80 credits to pass Level 1, NCEA. Her results however in no way reflected her academic ability and so I had to ask myself why ad she not achieved to her full potential? I rejected deficit thinking models (Valencia & Solórzano, 1997) that sought to lay blame first at Honey's door and then by association at the door of her *whānau/family*. I wrote about the Pākehā parent in Chapter 1 to illustrate how myopic my Pākehā lens (Barnes, A., 2004) was when I began this research study. At that time, I felt uncomfortable that the Pākehā parent had assumed, and articulated as truth, that Māori boys who were truant from school did not care about their education.

I rejected his assertions because I knew the boys well and I knew that they, like most hungry teenage boys found at any secondary school in the country, simply did not like the canteen food and had sought an expedient solution to that problem. I reflected on the layers of meaning the Pākehā parent had used to create an authoritative narrative of Māori failure and the unabashed colonialist sense of entitlement he had in articulating that view publicly. I now understood that such incoherent vitriol may be more about White fragility, a term DiAngelo (2011) uses to describe:

a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviours such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation. These

behaviours, in turn, function to reinstate white racial equilibrium (p. 54).

I also understood a little more clearly the need for me to constantly challenge my own thought processes and consider the impact of my deficit thinking on the life chances of Māori learners. I had never considered I came from a position of illegitimate authority, where presumptions of Māori failure are consistently defined as a racial trait rather than a state of neo-colonial oppression (Bishop, 2011; Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996). I reflected on what it must be like for Māori students if they were continually confronted by systems, structures, or individuals who made them feel culturally unsafe. I wondered if the overtly confrontational behaviour I sometimes observed in Māori students as well as the displays of negative behaviour traits, disengagement, silence' and in Honey's case, invisibility, were symptomatic of what Hook (2007) argues is "the failure of mainstream secondary education to educate and prevent educational disengagement of Māori youths" (p. 2).

SECTION 4 Independence and the Autonomous Self

Honey's lack of engagement at school challenged me to ask myself some tough questions and look for explanations that avoided blame. In Honey's case her parents had moved her with her immediate *whānau/family* from the Te Ika-a-Māui/*North Island* to the South Island/*Te Wāi Pounamu* in 2014. This geographical relocation had required Honey to move over one thousand kilometres from her tribal home and cemented her separation from her extended *whānau/family*, friends, school, and every other anchor that had provided her with routine and a sense of knowing and belonging to her as she grew up. I knew how intelligent, capable and talented Honey was and was interested to know if she had consciously chosen *ātetenga/resistance* as the pathway out of school. I was curious to know what the catalyst had been for her determined invisibility. What I was most curious about was what had motivated a bright student like Honey to embark on a course of action that would have such dire consequences for her future. Perhaps given her quiet but resolute demeanour she, like the fictional Alice, had simply silently slipped down a rabbit hole and was inconspicuous by her absence.

I put aside the easy assumption that Honey's choice was nothing more than what Solórzano and Bernal term "self-defeating *ātetenga/resistance*" (2001) and began to search for alternative explanations. I considered other explanations and labelled them as either deficit assumptions or possible causes:

A new Māori student from the largest city in Aotearoa New Zealand who had identified flaws in her new school's attendance system and had exploited these (Deficit).

A naughty/rebellious Māori student who did not like school and chose to fail (Deficit).

A student who was not supported from home (Deficit).

A shy student who just needed time to adjust to a new environment (Possible).

An unhappy and homesick teenager who simply felt overwhelmed by her new school (Possible).

An anxious teenager who had retreated rather than resisted (Possible).

A depressed teenager who felt it was easier to deal with isolation than separation (Possible).

I decided that the only way to avoid harm and gain a clear understanding around Honey's actions was to talk with her face-to-face/*kanohi ki te kanohi*.

SECTION 5 In Search of a Definition

For over three decades researchers around the globe have explored student ātetenga/*resistance* from a wide range of perspectives (Chizhik E. W., & Chizhik A. W., 2005); however, while ātetenga/*resistance* is observed and understood by those educational professionals working with adolescents all over the world, there is no universally accepted definition of the term *student ātetenga/resistance*. My understanding of student ātetenga/*resistance* had always been framed in terms of oppositional defiance and linked to dysfunctional behaviours and persistent behavioural pattern of angry or irritable moods, argumentative encounters with staff, insolent behaviour towards authority figures within the school hierarchy. I clearly remember being told in the first weeks as a student at Teachers' College in the early 1980s, that I must not smile until Easter lest students become complacent, or worse, unruly. In my early years as a classroom teacher noncompliant students' behaviour was defined in behavioural terms and any ātetenga/*resistance* to the teacher's expectations were usually solved with force.

It was not surprising therefore, that my initial consideration of Honey's truancy was rooted in my own definitions of good and poor behaviour. I had assumed that Honey's

behaviour was wilful and that she had chosen to truant from school. That assumption was based on nothing more than my personal perception that teenagers often rebelled and ignored the expectations of both their parents and the school they attended. However, when I finally spoke to Honey kanohi ki te kanohi/*face-to face* during the data collection phase of the study I was faced with a dilemma. Here was a quietly spoken student, the antithesis of wilful, who did not exhibit any of the behaviours I associated with defiance or ātetenga/*resistance*.

In searching for an apposite definition of ātetenga/*resistance* that would encapsulate my growing ambivalence, I used the data to identify recurring themes. Students' anecdotes described situations or circumstances where they felt the school, or teachers, had not listened to them, or had already assumed the worst and teachers had made up their minds. A recurring theme in many of these anecdotes was the disappointment and frustration participants experienced when they felt that teachers, deans, and senior leaders disregarded their right, not only to be heard, but also to be believed as well. Taylor, A. B. Smith, and Nairn (2001) argue that:

Rights are a broad concept, which will be interpreted and promoted or resisted differently, depending on the meaning they hold for people - most particularly for children and young people, and the persons who have the most contact with them or power over them (p. 5).

Participants often articulated their frustration at constantly being challenged by teachers who questioned their integrity at what they described as "every opportunity". Many recalled through their anecdotes numerous encounters with staff when they felt they were not believed because they were Māori. In the context of this study I began to understand ātetenga/*resistance* as a personal and deliberate response to a perceived or real affront to an individual's sense of self and self-determination (Hammack, 1986).

SECTION 6 The Paradox of the Triumvirate Hybrid Self

A consistent thread that linked many of the anecdotes was the sadness participants felt when they knew they were being denied the opportunity to just get on and be themselves at school. Yet, through the act of recording the participants' struggles I found myself burdened by my own guilt at knowing about their pain but not being able to change that existing dynamic immediately. Many of the participants were relieved to be able to share with me specific and very personal examples of the dilemmas they faced at school. A very common theme to emerge was participants' feeling constrained and unable to express themselves freely as Māori, without

experiencing judgement, overt bullying, or ridicule. Participants also talked about systems, structures that worked against their attempts to be self-determining. They provided descriptions of times when teachers tried to bully them and exert power over them; and their deep feelings of powerlessness and frustration at the lack of freedom and control they felt they had over their own lives.

Participants were very open when sharing the strategies that they deliberately used to resist either passively or aggressively what they perceived to be unjust or unduly harsh treatment. Many participants reported feeling a lack of dignity and self-respect when teachers treated them unfairly or with open hostility in front of their mates or Pākehā peers. There was universal agreement that participants often felt marginalised when they had been accused of doing something wrong and then found themselves excluded in the adult discussions about the allegations and possible consequences. Participants recalled feeling demeaned if they did manage to voice an opinion but were silenced because teachers appeared to have already made up their minds. Some participants recalled feelings of shame when their parents were told by teachers of misdemeanours, they had not actually committed but were suspended for anyway. Many participants reported feeling angry that some teachers had just been waiting for a chance to “get rid of them” and achieved that in discipline meetings, where they felt things invariably happened “to” them and not “for” them.

These anecdotes led me to reflect on the dilemma that faced many of the teachers at Papatūānuku High School who felt ill equipped to manage so-called difficult Māori students. I wondered if there were a measurable correlation between a lack of understanding of restorative practices and negative encounters with Māori students who came from a different cultural background. I noticed a correlation between teachers at Papatūānuku High School who relied on authoritarian power over teaching strategies as an approach to keep Māori students engaged, and who appeared to have greater difficulty working with Māori students’ resistant behaviour. It was also interesting to note that some, but not all, teachers who trained prior to the abolition of corporal punishment in 1987, reported that the move away from strapping students for insolence in the 1990s saw a decline in standards of behaviour in schools generally. When I questioned these teachers about the data they relied upon when making these observations they often responded that it was their personal experience rather than research data they relied upon. I postulated that all teachers might benefit from a schoolwide approach to the introduction of a range of teaching and positive behaviour modification strategies that reflected a strong Māori dimension. I speculated that for some staff it was more a lack of cultural confidence that

underpinned their reticence in forming positive and warm relationships with Māori students (Hemara, 2000; Macfarlane A. H., 2007; Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007). I wanted to design a strategic approach to the introduction of a professional learning programme for *hautūtanga/leadership* in the classroom that focussed on Kaupapa Māori/Māori principles including *manaaki/care*, *ngākau whakaute/respect*, and *whakawhānaunga/trusting relationships* (Drewery & Kecskemeti, 2010). Realising planning and implementing such a programme could become a longitudinal research study into building strong and healthy relationships between teachers, Māori students, and their families/ *whānau* at Papatūānuku High School was exciting.

SECTION 7 Testing Theoretical Understandings of Ātetenga/Resistance

I became acutely aware that in exploring the professional practice of the staff at Papatūānuku High School I was in fact examining my own as well. I understood that each of the roles I played in this research study, the principal, the researcher, and the confidante, had specific but competing responsibilities for the participants both individually and collectively. In the role of the researcher I was the collector of data, as principal I held the ultimate executive authority at Papatūānuku High School, and as an individual I was the confidante, who listened with empathy and impartiality. This complex triumvirate (See Figure 1) contributed to the paradoxical nature (Petronio, 2006) of the work I had undertaken as an autoethnographer. The greatest dilemma I faced rested in the contradictory nature of me as confidante wanting to help participants cope with the often-significant personal struggles that stemmed from their experiences at Papatūānuku High School pitted against both the requirements of me as principal to enforce school policy, and also the obligations I had as an academic researcher search for truth, while at the same time protect the rights and interests of research participants. I found myself carrying a burden I had not expected and one I that deeply affected me on all three levels.

In theoretical terms *ātetenga/resistance* has been described as a political act, as a self-defeating defiance strategy employed by non-elite students (Erickson, 1984). When I was trying to make sense of the significance to Honey of her absence from school, it no longer mattered to me whether her decision to truant was covert or overt, witting or unwitting, because irrespective of her motivation it was apparent that her *ātetenga/resistance* had had a self-defeating and detrimental impact on her educational success. I felt that as a school, and as the school's educational leader we/I had failed Honey. I had little insight into the reasons why we

had not been able to engage her, given our overt attempts to implement systems and structures to ensure all students had access to a warm, supportive, and caring learning environment. I began to question whether the school's definition of a warm, supportive, and caring learning environment was the same for Māori or whether for them we had missed significant elements that made them feel culturally safe. I was interested in Erickson's (1984) observation that often when students display *ātetenga/resistance* traits such behaviour is viewed "by the school system either as evidence of stupidity and/or low motivation in the learner" (p. 538).

Honey had proved she was far from stupid; however, I could give no substantiated explanation for her obdurate refusal to attend school. My discussions with members of the wider pastoral team about what could have motivated Honey to absent herself for fourteen weeks provided me with a surprisingly broad cross section of thinking and opinions. I was surprised that so much of our discussion centred around broad assumptions that spoke more to prevailing hegemonic imperatives of ethnic indifference and cultural apathy than egalitarian philosophies of equity of educational opportunity. Parra (2009) argues that:

cultural assumptions are the sets of meanings, attitudes, beliefs, and values which are shared by the members of a certain cultural community (who either consciously or unconsciously, but always mistakenly), tend to consider them universally accepted by the rest of the human beings (p. 3).

Although it can be argued that dominant cultures subjugate minorities, it can also be argued that not all members of a dominant culture share what is held to be common thoughts, behaviours, personal values, political understandings. Pākehā in AotearoaNew Zealand, like Māori are not a homogenous group and there are therefore a range of individuals and groups within Pākehā culture who display strong cultural empathy, responsiveness, and competencies. I found in my own case it was often a lack of confidence, cultural competency, and Māori knowledge/ *mātauranga Māori* that prevented me from challenging what I was now recognising as harmful stereotypical assumptions. Again, the irony was not lost on me, that it had been the challenge of my own assumptions around the notion of the AotearoaNew Zealand education system as an egalitarian structure that had been one of the catalysts for this research study.

SECTION 8 Defining Deficit Thinking

The senior *hautūtanga/leadership* team and the wider pastoral team were all Pākehā and yet during our conversation about the possible motivators that prompted Honey's behaviour there was no shared agreement around what those motivators might have been. I was surprised by the diversity of opinion and the propensity for deficit thinking (Foley, 1997; Garcia & Guerra, 2004; Simone, 2012) that informed some of the team members' stated positions regarding Māori students' motivation, work ethic, drive, determination, and achievement. I recorded our collective responses and created a mind-map that expressed an unexpected verbal landscape of negative descriptors, bald assumptions, and flawed preconceptions we each brought to the conversation. I began to recognise such assertions, opinions, and views as deficit thinking and likened such behaviour as both marginalisation and yet another mechanism for the colonisation of Māori (Bishop, 2015). What made me feel uncomfortable was the realisation that self-determination/*mana rangatiratanga*, a theme that I explore more deeply in Chapter 8 (when we meet Dianne, who I lovingly described as a Warrior Mother) was not a concept we could readily articulate, nor was it one that resonated with all staff at Papatūānuku High School. I discussed my tentative theories and growing anxieties with the senior *hautūtanga/leadership* team. We debated just how detached or objective we all were when it came to making judgements about Māori students' behaviour and agreed it was not surprising that we all came to the conversation with varying opinions, personal prejudices, and diverse ideas about what had motivated Honey's truancy. We acknowledged that our shared ethnicity did not guarantee our collective understanding of the issues that faced because we all came from such diverse backgrounds and had such varied life experiences as Pākehā.

SECTION 9 Reflexive Inquiry

The cycle of reflexive inquiry (see Figure 10) I developed to assist me to focus on more than just my interpretation of events as they unfolded. By asking questions that focussed on *what* had happened and not *why* things had happened I believed I would gain a better understanding of the issues and events that had confronted Honey and her *whānau/family*. I made this conscious change because I was aware of my propensity to fixate on *how* things happened at school and then assume personal responsibility for any and all failures. By using a reflexive inquiry model, I achieved a more systematic approach to the interrogation self. I used reflexive inquiry as a deliberate strategy to avoid the personal and embrace the professional. Cunliffe (2003) argues that reflexivity:

unsettles' representation by suggesting that we are constantly constructing meaning and social realities as we interact with others and talk about our experience. We therefore cannot separate ontology and epistemology, nor can we ignore the situated nature of that experience and the cultural, historical, and linguistic traditions that permeate our work (p. 985).

I did find focussing on what had happened extremely unsettling because I had never tried to separate how I viewed my world from what I believed to be true in my world. I began to consciously avoid over laying my thinking with my personal opinions, attitudes, values, assumptions, and prejudices. This disciplined, reflexive approach helped me to circumvent my default setting which invariably placed me at the centre of all issues and challenges that confronted me as a principal.

The intention behind this deliberate separation of the emotional self from the contextual self was a strategy I employed to help me focus on perspectives other than my own and not personalise the issues that faced me as the principal. This new reflexivity provided me with the intellectual space to interrogate with honesty the limits of my own knowledge (Bolton, 2006). When I overlaid questions that focussed on *what* I was seeing rather than on *how* I was feeling I found I was able to avoid interpretations layered with pejorative assumptions. *What* I saw was a student who had been truant from school for fourteen weeks. *What* I did not see was a whānau/family complicit in her behaviour. *What* I saw were flaws in our systems that had failed to alert us to Honey's significant absence. *What* I did not see was my personal culpability, but rather my professional responsibility to eliminate such flaws in the future. And *what* I did see were veiled insinuations from some staff who implied "*Honey was just a defiant Māori girl, and her whānau/family were either disinterested or lacked the motivation required to actually get their daughter to school and get her a 'proper' education*" [Reflective Journal, Vol 5:141015]. My next steps were to use the data to explore a new landscape and to create a vocabulary of inclusion.

SECTION 10 Challenging Assumptions and Deficit Thinking

I felt the tenor of some of our discussions had been disrespectful and showed a lack of cultural understanding and in some instances, overt racism. I found it curious that members of staff who articulated negative assertions about Māori failure and disengagement only ever did so in closed meetings and never publicly. Given my superficial understanding of Māori cultural

views and knowledge I realised the importance for me as a principal and leader to develop an understanding of the subtle nuances implicit in Tikanga Māori/*Māori customs, protocols and procedures*.

Giroux (1983) argues that to understand student motivation requires the transcendence of:

the immediacy of behaviour to the interest that underlies its often-hidden logic, a logic that also must be interpreted through the historical and cultural mediations that shape it (p. 291).

I could see no logic in Honey's behaviour and found no answers from the discussions I had with my colleagues that would adequately explain the choices she had made. Rather than attempting to offer explanations many staff involved in Honey's pastoral care and academic programme denied any culpability. Instead I noted conversations where staff attributed her prolonged absence to her whanau/*family's* lack of interest in her future, her lack of respect for authority and her failure to comply with school rules. I felt uncomfortable that a significant number of my colleagues, some of whom I had worked with for over seven years, believed with true conviction that teachers had a right to expect student compliance and should have all the power and control at school. As mentioned above, there were some staff with an authoritarian disposition, who went further claiming they "*treated all their students the same and only had problems with Māori students who challenged their authority*". I found I was criticised at times by staff who felt I was too soft where Māori students were concerned. It was their opinion I had "*let Māori students away with it,*" when by *it* they meant defiant behaviour.

Some staff voiced concerns that the efficient running of the school was being compromised when the principal failed to enforce discipline and make [Māori] students do as they were told and just behave like everybody else. I began to question what was at the heart of these assertions and rigid expectations. I pondered the relationship between the tensions around the disconnect between Pākehā and Māori interpretations of appropriate whanonga/*behaviour*. I observed what I thought was a mutual ātetenga/*resistance* to what each party felt were unacceptable inconsistencies. I captured my frustration in my reflective journal writing, "*I am sick of the 'kick and flick' mentality of some staff when they are faced*

with Māori students, they think are too difficult to ‘control’ in class!” [Reflective Journal, Vol 5:140919]. The entry reflected my observation of what I felt was a lack empathy exhibited by some Pākehā staff when dealing with Māori students who they often described as tough and staunch, but who in my experience were quite fragile behind their carefully tended façade of teenage ātetenga/*resistance*.

SECTION 11 Reframing Ātetenga/Resistance

Honey’s experience taught me to no longer see ātetenga/*resistance* as defiance. I railed against what I perceived to be a construct of Māori students as unreceptive, recalcitrant teenagers who simply needed to conform and comply with Westerncentric expectations if they wished to succeed at Papatūānuku High School. My understanding of ātetenga/*resistance* had moved well beyond the binary opposition used to describe Pākehā success at the expense of Māori failure. Such an interpretation of failure could only ever be understood in terms of the power imbalance that existed for Māori in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system. I came to understand that participant ātetenga/*resistance* was never a random or arbitrary act of defiance. What I noticed as I collected data over time was a consistency in circumstances which at their core related not to a breakdown in a relationship, but instead the lack of a personal, sustaining, and mutually sustaining relationship existing in the first instance. Ātetenga/*Resistance* for these participants was therefore both an intellectual and a physical response to a personal certainty, a deeply held belief, an intuitive understanding that was inextricably linked to a demand for justice in the face of a perceived injustice.

SECTION 12 Understanding Ātetenga/Resistance in Relation to Cultural Reproduction

Having defined ātetenga/*resistance* as a demand for justice in the face of a real or perceived injustice I did not read Honey’s ātetenga/*resistance* to attending school as a random or arbitrary act of defiance. In exploring why Honey decided to absent herself from school I started by examining what Papatūānuku High School’s part in her decision may have been. I identified another interesting binary implicit in the data relating to ātetenga/*resistance* which exposed the complexities of relationships that existed between participants and Pākehā teachers. Participants often shared their feelings of hurt when they explained that their teachers didn’t like them. That feeling of rejection was juxtaposed with participants’ observation of the preferential treatment some Pākehā students received, commenting that the teacher only liked the students who “*go all out to grease them.*” In clarifying what they meant by that phrase the comment was often made that teachers didn’t expect them to do well and even if they tried,

they felt they didn't get the same recognition as their Pākehā peers. Some participants went further and explained that if the teacher didn't expect much that is exactly what they got. I recall engaging with the term deficit thinking around this time in my field work and being surprised that such thinking existed at Papatūānuku High School and even more surprised that I too was guilty of deficit thoughts about Māori achievement. I was forced at this juncture to accept that my three selves did not sit above the experiences of participants and I was not an independent and enlightened harbinger of positive change. Instead I had to face the reality that I was complicit in the entrenched cultural reproduction (Fernandes, 1988) that marginalised Māori and created long term disadvantage, including the very disparities I wished to address.

In response to the metaphor of Honey as the embodiment of *ātetenga/resistance* I was able to expand my thinking beyond the idea that Papatūānuku High School was a hegemonic construct, theorising that instead it was a heterotopia (Foucault, 1967) and therefore a site of perpetual struggle and *ātetenga/resistance* for Māori. I grappled with the unwelcome idea that Papatūānuku High School functioned within what (Freire, 2000) defined as a hegemonic construct. To consider the possibility that I was implicit, as an educational leader in supporting that structure and therefore in regulating and manipulating Māori students' thinking, feelings, and behaviour, to ensure conformity to a dominant Pākehā social construct was abhorrent to me. I had to accept that as a Pākehā researcher I was a member of that dominant culture, and as the principal at Papatūānuku High School I embodied the beliefs, explanations, perceptions, values, and mores of Pākehā society. What was a profound shift for me was accepting the implication of that new reality for my third self – the empath with the social and moral compass. I experienced an epiphany when confronted by data that challenged my essential understanding of egalitarian education. I had always assumed the systems, structures, policies, and practices that underpinned the AotearoaNew Zealand state education system in general, and Papatūānuku High School specifically, were normal, necessary, and innocuous best practice and therefore accommodated all students. I reflected on the consequent reality of my assumptions for Māori students if that smooth running was not a universal truth. I questioned whether the study's participants' understanding of school changed when school, as cultural edifice, systematically ignored their indigenous culture, possibly rendering it impotent by ensuring only the interests of Pākehā were represented as the norm.

As I explored possible theories of *ātetenga/resistance*. I began to question my impartiality. Participants who were sent to me by other Pākehā staff for issues of discipline were, according to the staff who referred them, disrespectful and resistant to the expectations

of them as the teacher and the institution. When I analysed the data, I postulated that many of the discipline incidents I was expected to deal with stemmed from a mutual struggle for power. The data consistently identified examples of participants who resisted what they perceived to be unfair treatment in relation to the treatment their Pākehā received. Often, I would hear anecdotes that supported a participant's claim that they had been treated differently to their Pākehā peer when in fact their misdemeanour was exactly the same. Examples were given where participants felt they had received grossly inappropriate consequences like a stand-downs or suspension for misdemeanours they had committed but their Pākehā peer would not. I was curious to know how much of the participants' behaviour, reported by staff as resistant, might have been avoided if we had employed culturally inclusive approaches and had had a better understanding of the Māori world/te ao Māori as a staff. Alpert (1991) argues that:

the concept of resistance is used in educational research to explain and interpret various student behaviours in schools that indicate the existence of tensions and conflicts between school and the wider society to which the students belong (p. 350).

I found Sultana's (1989) work on transition education in AotearoaNew Zealand was a useful practical example that helped me to understand that although it had been unintentional, I had played a significant role in the creation of a culture of opposition at Papatūānuku High School. I began to see how it could be that principals and their predominantly Pākehā staffs could construct reproduction-oriented culturally dominant messages and then interpret any student ātetenga/*resistance* to those messages as student rebellion and or ātetenga/*resistance*. Sultana (1989) challenges educators from dominant cultures to reconsider definitions of rebellious and or resistant behaviour. Such a redefinition would consider a student's response to cultural domination and accept that in employing such:

Active contestation of such messages and structures, these students attempt to impose their own meanings and experiences on what the school has to offer. Thus, while reproduction theories help illuminate what the schools are about, resistance theories are better placed to account for the students' responses to the schools' practices, relations, curricula and messages (p. 288).

I realised that redefining student behaviour had significant implications for me as a principal and sat at the heart of my professional practice if I wished to create real and positive change (Simpson, McFadden, & Munns, 2001). Berryman et al. (2013) suggest the need for Pākehā educators to learn how to read Māori student behaviour appropriately. That was a challenge for a monolingual, monocultural principal like me. I had known very little about culturally responsive practices and although I believed I had nurtured positive relationships with Māori students that nurturing process had not taken into consideration *Kaupapa Māori/ Māori customary practice*. I learnt that my best intentions would never overcome my Pākehā programming and that unless I made conscious changes to my pedagogical practice, I would be complicit in ignoring the cultural needs, aspirations, and expectations of Māori students. To avoid change then, was to perpetuate the status quo and to fail to address power differentials that afforded me supremacy as Pākehā and demand quiet submission and acquiescence from Māori, the indigenous minority (Toshalis, 2015).

SECTION 13 Truancy - Statistics Not Sentiment

Honey had certainly been quiet, but never submissive or acquiescent. I made this assessment having regard for her silent but salient disregard for the compulsory expectation for attendance. She had made a significant decision when she decided to absent herself from school and in the absence of a personal relationship with her, I had no real clue to what had triggered that decision. As a practice-based autoethnographer I was looking for alternative meanings and new understandings of the data and the events that sat in behind her attendance record. As a beginning point for review, I explored the mandatory system the school used for student attendance and referral. Teaching staff recorded electronically when a student was referred from class, however the compulsory code used to note that referral gave no indication of the personal circumstances behind the event and implied student fault as a result. Another anomaly I observed was the code used to record a student's absence if they had a medical appointment. The code gave no indication whether the student's condition was a mental health issue and should therefore be notified to the Guidance Faculty for follow up and care, or a physical illness that required a Health and Safety notification for follow up and support.

This lack of detail made it difficult for staff to connect with students who may have needed specific support to either remain at home and continue their education, attend the Regional Health School, or simply require daily physical support. I considered how difficult the mandatory codes made it for staff to respond to specific student need if they did not already

have a close and trusting relationship with a student and his or her *whānau/family*. I also reflected for the first time, how difficult it must be for *whānau/family* who were not confident when dealing with the school, especially at times of conflict or crisis. When scrutinising Honey's attendance record, I noticed for the first time that the code descriptors mandated by the Ministry of Education (Ng, 2007) provided a technocratic rather than a relational approach to the recording of student attendance data. As such the data gave no insight into Honey's circumstances or motivation from a humane or benevolent point of view.

I realised the generalised codes emphasised formulaic in favour of humanistic descriptors of absenteeism. I wondered what the impact would be on Māori students if schools deliberately avoided formulaic in favour of humanistic methods to describe absenteeism. I questioned whether truancy rates would reduce for Māori if we developed deliberate strategies dedicated to bicultural approaches to relationship development management. I was conscious that as a school we could benefit from developing systems and communication threads that addressed the need for open and sincere school - *whānau/family* interactions. Levine (2007) argues that such a:

Detached and technocratic approach ... is typical of a culture
that likes to measure the inputs and outputs of institutions
without getting inside them to examine their values (p. 19).

I was curious about what the impact might be on Māori students if Papatūānuku High School decided to gather data on absenteeism for example using specific rather than generalised codes. Such codes could be designed to avoid formulaic in favour of humanistic methods to describe absenteeism.

As an example, I posited that rather than just recording **A** for an absence, if a Māori student was absent attending a *tangi/funeral* the code could be **E/F** the accompanying modifier defining the reason for the absence. As relationships are culturally significant the student's affiliation with the deceased could be recorded i.e. **EIF** - immediate *whānau/family*; **EEF** - *extended whānau/family*, or **EHW** - *hapori whānui/wider community*. I wondered if truancy rates would reduce for Māori students if deliberate strategies for all students were introduced that identified immediately the kind of support required for a student out of school and upon their return to school. If a student was marked absent with **D** for Doctor then I felt there should be a modifier added to alert staff if it was an ongoing illness **DOI**, or as sometimes occurs a terminal illness requiring specialised counselling **DTIC**. Without such information staff find it difficult to build and maintain relationships and appropriate support for both the student and

their whānau/family. I accepted with embarrassment that my singularly Westerncentric understanding of AotearoaNew Zealand society had not allowed me to see attendance through this lens before and so I perhaps like many other educational leaders would benefit from such humanistic prompts. Without systems to support my Pākehā cultural deficiencies I realised I would always be vulnerable to causing offence to Māori who held certain expectations of me as the educational leader. The challenge we faced as a school was to improve our attendance data so that it provided greater insight into the needs of all students as individual and unique.

As an autoethnographer I had little use for summative statistical data that provided no insight or information about the personal issues that sat behind the A that denoted a student's absence. I wrote in my reflective journal, "*if I am the lens through which I view my world I will need to refocus*" [Reflective Journal: Vol 4, 140919]. Although I agreed that statistics were a necessary tool in education, they appeared to serve a bureaucratic drive for statistics to justify funding or staffing rather than a means to acquire a sense of sentiment needed when dealing with the real reasons behind absenteeism and chronic truancy. I needed a broad spectrum of data to help me look past mere numbers of referrals, truancy, stand-downs, and suspensions and provided me with insights into students' personal and domestic circumstances.

SECTION 14 Myopic Westerncentric Understandings

A. H. Macfarlane (2017) argues that if Māori students are only ever defined in behavioural terms and schools focus on homogenising functions of schooling the positive relationships that underpin holistic learning/*ako torowhānui*, will always be absent. Middleton (1987) reinforces the negativity of a preoccupation with behaviour rather than relationships schools appear to have in explaining student truancy in behavioural terms. Finn (1989) also looked beyond definitions of behaviour describing student absence in developmental terms. His explanation of the participation-identification model fitted with my tentative hypotheses that the reasons for Honey's lack of engagement with school stemmed from both behavioural and emotional components. Finn (1989), argues that a student's reluctance to "participate in school and class activities, or to develop a sense of identification with school, may have significant deleterious consequences" (p. 117). Their research prompted me to look past my myopic Westerncentric understandings and seek alternative explanations for Māori students' truancy. I reflected on the notion of perspective and looked for alternatives to my dominant Pākehā determinations of truth and reality.

When I finally stepped back and thought about AotearoaNew Zealand's market driven economy it occurred to me that as a society we were conditioned to focus on being the best, the brightest, and the most successful. In focussing on school improvement (Day & Harris, 2002; Timperley & Robinson, 2001), I had unconsciously created a school culture of competition which left little room for other perspectives to grow and flourish. Without realising it my inherent understandings of success at school were deeply rooted in a meritocratic perspective where, as an autonomous individual (Lemke, 2002) you were expected to be capable, self-reliant, and able to make judgments that would result in success – but only success as determined by a Westerncentric perspective. I was a product of such familial and social enculturation; and while I believed I was capable of forming deep, meaningful, and universally affirming relationships with individuals and groups from different cultures and ethnicities, I found myself grappling with a crisis of conscience. As I engaged more and more with the study's participants the crisis, I faced was the possibility that the relationships I believed I enjoyed had only ever been based on a subconscious pseudo benevolence. As a member of the dominant culture in AotearoaNew Zealand I felt acutely aware of the hypocrisy of an education system that claimed, as Gergen (2009) argues that “education is not a process of producing effective individuals, it is one of fostering processes that indefinitely extend the potential of relationships” (p. 243), yet repeatedly used nefariously negative social, cultural and ethnic assumptions to define indigenous failure.

SECTION 15 New Paradigms for Cultural Understanding

I think I had underestimated the significant pain the “constant interrogation of self” had caused my autoethnographer-self. The research process required me to set aside my taken-for-granted cultural beliefs and look with a fresh lens at the possibility that my cultural perspective, coupled with my *hautūtanga/leadership* traits, had served to perpetuate institutional forms of discrimination and injustice that created and reinforced Māori student disengagement and lack of academic success (Bishop, 1998; Robinson & Ward, 1991). Problems, from a deficit perspective, appear to locate Māori in a sociocultural paradigm which furnish educational leaders with descriptions of the poor attitudes that parents have towards absences and a lack of engagement with the school in seeking effective solutions. Added to this discourse was what I saw as an abdication of responsibility by some educational leaders, schools and teachers, who cited a lack of time, resources and other constraints schools suffer when dealing with the problems associated with Māori lack of achievement and engagement.

I was curious to know what had motivated Honey to absent herself from school. I had incorrectly assumed that I had positive relationship with her. When reviewing the data from my reflective journal I noticed I had failed to pick up on the significance of her comment that, “*Mum and Dad said they might let her go back home, if she works hard to get all her credits.*” She had refused to accept her new house as home and had been negotiating a return home/*te hokinga mai ki te haukainga* with her parents. I also noticed in hindsight that the real Honey was absent during our conversations. I had incorrectly interpreted her return to school after being in *Ākarana/Auckland* as a return from a nice holiday.

Again, I had failed to see the significance of a return home/*hokinga mai* to both and whānau, for a homesick Māori teenager. For Honey, she was not on holiday, she was home, with the knowledge that she would have to leave again to return to the South Island/*Te Wāi Pounamu* in a matter of weeks. Although my enthusiasm around “*how pleased I was she was back here at school*” was genuine, it was also within located within the context of my Pākehā perception of what I felt was best for Honey. I knew this because if she and I had had a trusting relationship I would have known she was homesick, that she was adamant she was going home and that her obdurate insistence that she would not attend her new school and her parents must to return to Auckland permanently. The fact that she did not see me as a person she could explain these feelings to defines our relationship more succinctly than any academic explanation of students’ connections to school (Libbey, 2004). In truth, I had no idea why she had chosen not to attend classes because our discussions had been around academic potential and my thoughts about how well I thought she could do at Papatūānuku High School.

McLaren (2010) points out that retention and achievement at school requires new cultural paradigms and a cultural anchor to ensure Māori students feel grounded and supported. Upon arrival Honey’s Dean followed the agreed policy and protocol for orientation and assigned her two buddies, both of whom were Māori. In hindsight while such an approach is seen through a Pākehā lens as positive, it highlights, as mentioned above the assumption that all Māori will get on because they are all the same, as if they are a homogeneous group. As part of her orientation Honey was introduced to the *te reo Māori* teachers and invited to use the Whānau Class/class philosophy underpinned by *tikanga Māori* facilities during class break times. I had also taken the added step of putting her on my Call Up sheet for Term Four, given my interest in Māori student voice. What became apparent as I reviewed my own and the pastoral care teams’ processes was the absence of overt whānau/family engagement in that orientation process. LaRocque, Kleiman, and Darling, (2011) advocate for new paradigms for

cultural understanding forged by developing positive and lasting relationships with parents. They argue that:

Teachers should learn not to fear parental involvement. They should operate on the belief that parents are a valuable resource with powerful knowledge that can be used to help students succeed. This can come from building mutual trust between parents and teachers. Teachers should find a systematic way to involve parents. Fear and mistrust are barriers arising from ignorance and lack of relationship (p. 118).

I reflected on the fact that as a school we did not have strategies or a programme in place to support staff to develop culturally supportive relationships with Māori. I also could not identify a professional learning programme that assisted staff to build cooperative and collaborative support systems that celebrated Māori culture/*Māoritanga* and the uniqueness of every individual in the school (Clarke, Macfarlane, S., & Macfarlane, A.H., 2018; Macfarlane, A. H., 2004; Berryman & Bateman, 2008).

SECTION 16 Compounding the Error

One significant observation I made when reviewing her file was, we did not have culturally inclusive protocols to engage *whānau/family*, nor had we made any attempt to encourage Honey to share those important connections with us. There was no personal commentary recorded on her pastoral file that included reference to the significant adults available to support her. Although she may have sought advice and guidance from *whānau/family* when at home we had no indication of the family's/*whānau's* position. Honey had not attempted to access the school's guidance counsellors to assist her to make decisions about managing her anxieties around attending school (Fleming, Dixon, & Merry, 2012). Perhaps this was not so surprising given all staff in that team were Pākehā. Instead, it appeared from all the data I had access to within our pastoral system that Honey had simply disengaged from school. Rather than the belligerent refusals of a recalcitrant child Honey simply employed the quiet *ātetenga/resistance* of a resolute young adult. Giroux (2001) describes such behaviour as misplaced opposition, arguing such an approach fails to resolve the issues the individual is experiencing. Honey's behaviour was problematic because, in Giroux's (2001) terms, instead of resolving the situation she had exacerbated the issues she faced and had therefore created a pattern of struggle which strengthened her cycle of *ātetenga/resistance*.

SECTION 17 Growing Cultural Competency

I remember my complete disbelief and feelings of frustration when I discovered in September 2014, that Honey had been absent for fourteen weeks and no one had investigated the reasons why nor brought the matter to my attention. As the school's educational leader, I reflected on what part I had played in such a catastrophic failure, our failure not hers. The data available to me on KAMAR highlighted our ineffectual processes by only painting half a picture of Honey's progress in Term Four, 2013. Her end-of-year School Report reflected both her application and ability and she presented as a student ready to transition smoothly into Year 11 in 2014. I was unaware that Honey was about to return to *Ākarana/ Auckland* for the Christmas vacation break and unaware of the significance of this holiday to her and to her return to Papatūānuku High School in February 2015.

Her time spent in *Ākarana/Auckland* and then her enforced geographical relocation reinforced for her the lack of personal agency she had (Bishop, 2015) and was the catalyst for her disengagement from school. For all the systems and structures, we had put in place to support students to achieve to their potential, we had no mechanism to identify, measure, or quantify the impact on the human heart of cultural separation anxiety. The repercussions of this dissociation have not been identified to the same degree as more obvious indicators, such as loss of language and land for example, but it is argued here have been just as far reaching. Papatūānuku High School had no clearly defined indicators in place to capture such data let alone processes for its analysis.

When I spoke casually with Honey's friends early in February 2015, they did not mention they any concerns about Honey's emotional state or mental health. There was no acknowledgment that she may have been either sad or homesick. In typical teenage terms she was just back. Honey did not communicate either to me or the pastoral care staff her anxieties relating to her separation from extended *whānau/family*. When I found she was absent from class later that month I asked her friends in the class if there was anything I should know about. They indicated she had shared with them that she missed home and her *whānau/family* in *Ākarana/Auckland*, and how good it would be when her Mum and Dad let her go home. I reflected that even with so many professional people in the mix and so many points of entry for successful interventions, in Honey's case, no problems had been noticed by the adults in her life at school and no pastoral entries had been entered recording she could in fact be an *at-risk* student. That our institutional failings enabled (Stoll & Fink, 1988) this talent Māori student to

employ strategies of *ātetenga/resistance* unimpaired and so resolutely avoid coming to school was personally distressing.

I reflected on the repercussions for Honey of my lack of cultural competency, evidenced in her inevitable and untimely exit from school. I struggled with feelings of failure as I recognised that Honey had become just another statistic in an education system that problematised Māori and I had unknowingly collaborated in that conspiracy. Although I wallowed in self-pity, Honey continued with her own teenage agenda totally unaware of my obsession with the political discourse of disparities in Māori education.

SECTION 18 Emerging Theories

Much of the literature I had engaged with as I began my study stressed the importance of positive relationships for Māori students if they were to achieve to their full potential in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system (Bishop et al., 2009). Although I accepted the veracity of that claim I was interested as well in the concept of *rapport*, which I defined here as a deeper connection than that forged between people who hold a common interest(s). My relationship with Honey had been positive but had lacked that deep *rapport* born of intuition, instinct, mutual understandings, and an empathy that makes communication fluid and easy. I remember feeling physically sick when I realised that even with the plethora of data referred to above, I had absolutely no idea what had motivated Honey to avoid school over that fourteen-week period.

I reflected again on my propensity to assume that because participants, and in this instance Honey, were friendly, well behaved, and acquiescent that I had a positive relationship with them. I contemplated the implied and contrived nature of a relationship derived from a Westerncentric perspective which made competing perspectives invisible. I questioned whether quite inadvertently I had confused understanding and empathy with a patronising benevolence. It had never occurred to me before that as a Pākehā educator I might naturally default to hegemonic thinking and therefore intuitively impose my own beliefs, explanations, and perceptions onto others irrespective of their cultural background. I theorised that this explanation could possibly be one account of why Honey's absence had gone unnoticed by me. This gap in my knowledge clearly signalled a need for access to professional learning opportunities that would assist me to engage more appropriately with, not just Honey and her *whānau/family*, but with Māori students and their *whānau/families* in general.

SECTION 19 Displacing Monocultural Understandings

I began to recognise the limitations of my monocultural understandings and as a result the requirement to rethink my own definition of authentic *hautūtanga/leadership*. Such an inversion would place Pākehā at the centre of conversations about positive interventions and the need for greater cultural competency and support to develop bicultural pedagogy in AotearoaNew Zealand classrooms. This type of inversion would see Māori seeking solutions *for not with* Pākehā within the AotearoaNew Zealand education system. Such an inversion also reoriented my perspective of cultural disadvantage providing me a new perspective and challenged me to imagine how I would exist in two worlds and perform credibly in both. I began to imagine what Honey's experience at Papatūānuku High School might have looked like if, as a school, we had confidently demonstrated culturally responsive pedagogies framed within a Māori context (Glynn, Wearmouth, & Berryman, 2005).

Instead what faced me as I sifted through the plethora of research was the indomitable Westerncentric discourse that systematically problematised Māori and obscured any explanations of underachievement that focussed on cultural hegemony in favour of descriptions of cultural difference, socioeconomic disadvantage, dysfunction and ātetenga/*resistance* (Lourie, 2016) in Honey's case. My lack of authentic knowledge about te ao Māori/*the Māori world* was my Achilles heel as an educational leader. A. H. Macfarlane (2007) points out educators need to:

Find ways of including students from different social and cultural backgrounds into the community of practice in their classrooms ... (and) ... examine and modify the way they engage and interact with their students and the pedagogical practices they employ (p. 66).

My new challenge therefore was to find those ways to cut through the deficit discourse of social and cultural disadvantage; and to identify bicultural approaches to *hautūtanga/leadership* that would assist me to engage more positively and collaboratively with Māori students and their whānau/*families* to our mutual benefit.

SECTION 20 The Importance of Knowing and Understanding

I chided myself that my lack of bicultural awareness as an educational leader would have had a negative impact on the Māori students I have taught throughout my career. Hidden from me in plain sight were the opportunities I had missed as a teacher at both secondary and secondary school level to engage with Māori *whānau/families* at significant moments in their children's/*tamariki* lives. I described some of these significant events in Chapter 5 as rites of passage. Transitions within a school setting are a significant rite of passage and function to separate the students from their former group or school and prepare them for the next stage in their educational journey. When students transition from a preschool, kindergarten or a language nest/*kōhanga reo* to Māori language immersion schools /*kura kaupapa Māori* or state funded secondary schools and then on to state funded high school/*te kura tuarua* these transitions are at times traumatic, especially if a geographical relocation is required as well. Although I was aware Honey had had to cope with a significant geographical relocation it had not occurred to me that she had had to grapple with the significant transition from the junior school to senior school and the requirements of the national testing regime. Hodis, Meyer, McClure, Weir, and Walkey (2011) argue that:

The transition from junior to senior high school can be a fresh start for students, but individual student motivation orientations can determine the extent to which students take advantage of this opportunity (p. 321).

I had simply assumed that Honey would take what I perceived to be full advantage of her hard work and significant achievements in Year 10 (14 - 15 years-old) and build on them in Year 11 (15 - 16 years-old). My assumptions highlighted yet again my lack of understanding of the strong causal factors that deterred Honey's choices.

Added to my incorrect assumptions about what and how Honey was feeling when she transitioned from *Ākarana/Auckland*, to the South Island/*Te Wāi Pounamu* was my patronising appropriation of her as a scholar. Although she was an academically able student my description of her as, "*Such a find!*" was located in that subconscious definition of Māori as Other. I reflected on the absence of such a phrase when I described new Pākehā students who displayed exceptional qualities and realised I had a different cache of descriptors for them which included excellent sports people, talented musicians, or individuals who possessed a rare skill, ability, or attribute that our student body should or could aspire to. Again, my embarrassment at my description of Honey as a "find" was fuelled by my realisation that my subliminal, hegemonic programming had skewed my thinking to appreciating her worth as a role model exclusively for Māori students. The fact that I wrote in her pastoral file, "*Given it's only been four weeks*

since her arrival she seems to have made a positive transition into her new school environment,” also highlights my Pākehā assumption that successful transitions equated with academic achievement rather than other more personal, social and cultural indicators of successful rites of passage.

SECTION 21 Deep Learning

When discussing with my colleagues the ways in which students displayed ātetenga/*resistance* behaviour I noticed we often defaulted to articulating hegemonic understandings of ātetenga/*resistance* in terms of student defiance and a challenge to our authority as adults and teachers who assumed as of right power and control within the classroom and the school. A colleague made me stop and think one day when she asked me if I had considered the possibility that Honey’s ātetenga/*resistance* and her refusal to conform and comply was nothing more than the egocentrism of adolescence (Elkind, 1967; Piaget, 1962). She suggested that Honey’s absence could be explained in terms of the traits of belligerent youth culture, and that her situation was not dissimilar to her Pākehā peers and could therefore be considered consubstantial with youth culture in general. It has been argued alienated students are responding to feelings of disenfranchisement and are therefore refusing to buy into what they see as the charade of school conformity (Carley, 1994), choosing instead to live at the margins of the school (Schulz, 2011). This view of youth culture as a homogeneous group fails to take into account the complexities of cultural subjugation, its impact of indigenous youth culture and gives effect to the colonisation of the discourse of equity.

SECTION 22 Summary

Personal Musings - Building Pedagogical Capital

I met with Honey a year after she had dropped out of school to ask if she would be prepared to participate in this research study. In all honesty until that time she had remained an enigma for me. Viewed through the opaque lens of my Westerncentric world view I had made some very bold assumptions about her relocation to Papatūānuku High School and how she felt about that significant change in her life. I had written in my reflective journal, “*I discussed with her how she was finding her new school.*” When reviewing that entry, I observed I had not recorded Honey’s thoughts and feelings but rather my own. I had assumed that because I was excited that she had enrolled, she was as well. I had assumed that because I thought her transition from the Te Ika-a-Māui/*North Island* to the South Island/*Te Wāi Pounamu* had gone well and she was coping well it was her reality. I had done what Senge et al. (2000) describe

as climbing the ladder of inference, a common mental pathway of increasingly abstract ideas which invariably lead to assumptions, assertions, and misguided or false beliefs.

When I reflected on the implications of my personal assumptions about Honey, I realised how naïve I had been to assume we were friends and that the power dynamic that naturally separates a principal and a student did not exist between us. I had failed to grasp that being friendly did equate to friendship, nor had I understood the significance for Māori students of *kanohi ki te kanohi/face-to-face* contact. I learned that if you wanted to build a strong bond and a lasting relationship with Māori students, just adding their name on your “Call Ups” list for a ten-minute meeting six to ten weeks in the future would not achieve it. My new learning was a splinter in my heel, constantly reminding me of my failures: to grasp the significance of Honey’s trip to *Ākarana/Auckland* for the Easter Break, to appreciate how unsettled and lonely she was upon her return to school, and to recognise the level of homesickness she was experiencing for *wākāinga/home* and *whānau/family*.

The salve to that metaphorical injury was perhaps the argument offered by Solórzano and Bernal (2001) that:

The majority of resistance studies provide information about how youth participate in oppositional behaviour that reinforces social inequality instead of offering examples of how oppositional behaviour may be an impetus toward social justice (p. 310).

Honey’s *ātetenga/resistance*, manifest in her oppositional behaviour and chronic truancy, assisted me to understand *ātetenga/resistance* not as a struggle or as adolescent defiance, but as a potential catalyst for social justice and social and political change in education. I saw clearly that it was I not Honey who needed to change. Honey’s nonfiction narrative was a milestone that marked the way and gave impetus toward the beginning of a strategy for social justice in AotearoaNew Zealand.

Final Thoughts

If I had to identify one essential piece of new learning resulting from my experience with Honey it would be the importance of ensuring there are reciprocal understandings of the importance of

culturally responsive pedagogy and the need to connect Māori students and their unique mātauranga/*knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill Māori* to their educational experiences at school (Glynn, Cowie, Otrrel-Cass, & Macfarlane, A. H., 2010). If that becomes an articulated annual goal in all school Charters perhaps ātetenga/*resistance* may be reduced to an aberration from our past and Māori will achieve as Māori to the same level if not better than their Pākehā peers.

So, in the final analysis there is definitely “something more,” but it does not lie yet another initiative, yet another programme, or yet another pilot study. I have learnt that for me it lies at the very heart of how we define ourselves as a nation. If we are to address the disparities that exist for Māori students at Papatūānuku High School, we need only to accept the need for change in ourselves and see that change as a step towards honouring the terms of te Tiriti o Waitangi/*the Treaty of Waitangi*. It was Honey’s silence that I helped me to hear her voice and the voices of Māori whānau/*families* who demand culturally safe practices in our day-to-day management of their tamariki/*children*. It is not too much to ask as a parent that school be a culturally safe space, built on trusting relationships and a respectful reciprocal understanding of the benefits of biculturalism.

As I end this chapter and move my focus in Chapter 7 to an exploration of the importance of school governance in building trusting relationships in the cultural space of equity and inclusion I am cognisant of the need to extend Glynn et al.’s (2010) insistence of the importance of a mātauranga Māori/Māori knowledge and a te ao Māori/*Māori world view* in everything we do in education in the 21st century. I have used the composite character of Papera Hakapia in Chapter 7 to personify the concept of a Māori world view/*mātauranga Māori* and to illustrate the power of bicultural partnerships if and when Māori knowledge/*mātauranga Māori* is recognised as a taonga/*treasure* in the educational setting of a state secondary school board room.

Ta te tamariki tana mahi wawahi tahā

It is the job of the children to smash the calabash

CHAPTER 7 TE AO MAORI/MĀORI WORLD VIEW

SECTION 1 My Name is Papera Hakapia

Composite Narrative [Reflective Journal, Vol 2:100520]

I came ...

Late in 2012 I was invited to work with a sister school in the North Island to assist their board members with the recruitment of a new rūnanga representative. According to the board Chair they had not had much success attracting and keeping a representative and were faced yet again with filling that position. I attended their first board meeting for the year in February 2013. The meeting lasted for 47 minutes from start to finish; and following a warm welcome I simply sat quietly observing the dynamics around the board table. There were seven Pākehā parent trustees, five men and two women, all of whom were younger than me by a decade or more. The male Pākehā Principal was approximately my age and the staff trustee, a Pākehā woman was just a little older than me. The student trustee was also Pākehā but was not present because she was attending Year 13 Camp. When I walked to the staffroom with the principal and board Chair after the meeting, I remember the latter telling me with pride what while some of the board were strident in their opinions, they were a pretty solid lot. He added that one of the board's strengths was their commitment to fixing the problem of these "Māoris" failing at school. As we waited for the lift I looked down at my new red shoes remembering to breathe evenly.

I saw ...

The recruitment of a new rūnanga representative was the main item on the March board meeting. I deliberately choose to sit on the opposite side of the board table at my second meeting, so my perspective would be slightly altered. The board's initial discussion focussed on the "lack of engagement" of local Māori and their indifference towards the school. One board member did acknowledge that there had been one or two "good Māori s" in the past, but none of them had managed to stick it out. I noticed in my peripheral vision one of the male trustees lean forward slightly, clearly agitated. Clearing his throat, he growled, "Well, if no one else is going to do it, I'll address the elephant in the room!" He shot an accusatory glare at the board Chair. "What we are going to do about these "Māoris" then? They never turn up, they sure as hell don't care about the school let alone their kids'

education. They just let them run riot, and now we have to waste time getting one on our board,” Fixing his fiery stare on me and hardly drawing breath he accused, “well, I suppose you are full of good ideas?”

He was interrupted by a blonde woman, encased in a pale pink cashmere sweater. Frustration infused her voice, she retorted, “Be fair Jeff,” she said. “We’ve been over and over this and that is why we have Peggy here. She’s going to find us one.” “Well,” he retorted, oblivious to his rapidly inflating elephant as it effectively sucked all the air from the room. “Someone has to say it. If I’m so wrong, why are they not here then?”

I cringed ...

I looked down at my second favourite pair of shoes, concentrating on even breaths. The silence around the board table was deafening.

“Well,” Jeff challenged, “Tell me I’m wrong! They’re just not like us ... all that cultural mumbo jumbo ... that’s just not how things work around here!”

As an advisor I felt it was not my place to make a comment in this emotionally charged moment. There was obviously history here and until I knew the dynamics operating around the board table it was better to remain as a silent observer. I was acutely aware that unless I was extremely diplomatic, I risked alienating myself from the very people who had asked for my help. The board Chair cleared his throat and looked at me.

“Thank you, Jeff!” He said, with all the warmth of a winter’s day. “We are well aware of your feelings on the matter, so why don’t we just get on with developing an action plan with Peggy, so we can get a person in place as soon as possible?”

I smiled encouragingly as my growing anxiety danced a slow waltz in my stomach. There were nods and a graceless mumbled agreement from Jeff, who for some reason seemed to be radiating anger across the table towards me. I tucked that impression away for later, conscious that the Chair was addressing me.

“Why don’t we hand over to you Peggy and you can get us underway?” he said cogently, his steady gaze fixed on the malevolent Jeff.

“Kia ora koutou Katoa, nga mihi nui rangatira mā,” I smiled warmly. “I would like to take this opportunity to thank you all for the opportunity join you in undertaking this very important mahi. My greeting was met by an audible snort, overtly disguised counterfeit sneeze. I thought to myself, not for the first time, that resistance took many forms and wore many faces. This was not going to be a quick fix and I had a

feeling that Jeff and our surreptitious snorter were not going to make things easy. I continued in a deliberately passive manner in an attempt to dampen the open hostility I could feel enveloping those in the room.

Te Mahi

I smiled again and carried on enthusiastically, “I think we need to explore your thoughts around why the board has had such difficulty attracting someone from the local iwi to sit on the Board.”

“It’s not the board’s fault that we can’t find anyone,” interrupted Jeff, “they’re just not interested!”

I paused and smiled with a patience I did not feel. Jeff was going to require careful management, or we ran the risk of derailing the process yet again. “So, that is one observation, what are some of the other thoughts people might have?” I looked at the staff trustee. “Why don’t I record some of your ideas?” I said, as I stood and walked to the whiteboard.

Kanohi ki te kanohi

At our next meeting the board seemed much more relaxed. Board members were discussing next steps they might take as I entered the room and welcomed me warmly. When I was call on to give an update, I informed the meeting that I had spoken with the chairperson of the local Rūnanga Education Committee and she had recommended a kuia who had indicated a willingness to join the board. Board members looked a little startled by this announcement and immediately looked to the Chair and then at Jeff. The room suddenly felt charged with an intense awkwardness I had not experienced before with the group. I smiled supportively and continued optimistically into that thick silence. “Given your discussion around the difficulties you have faced with recruitment, I think she may be a huge asset to your board. Her name is Papera Hakapia and she has extensive governance and management experience.” I was greeted by resolute stillness. Ignoring the thundering silence, I pressed on. “Your local rūnanga hold her in high regard,” I continued, “And she is their clear choice.” I encouraged. The silence expanded, filling the room like liquid jell. I looked straight at the Chair, “She is a highly respected kuia in your region and is well known in political circles at local and national level. I challenged the silence, refusing to acknowledge the obvious

ātetenga/resistance, “If you are agreeable, I will contact her to see if she would be prepared to join your board as the rūnanga’s representative.”

To my surprise, and it appeared everyone else’s as well, after what seemed like an eternity, it was Jeff who broke the silence.

“OK then but mark my words nothing will change!” he said with stoic confidence. There was almost a collective sigh of relief around the table. The Chair turned to me, with relief written in capitals across his forehead and replied, “Thank you Peggy, we will leave that to you then.” I nodded in quiet agreement and with that the Chair moved the meeting on to the next agenda item. I relaxed, inwardly infused with a mixed sense of relief and excitement.

Cultural Safety

Over the next four weeks I worked with Board secretary to ensure that we had Papera Hakapia at the next Board meeting. I confirmed with the Rūnanga Education Committee that the Board had agreed to Papera Hakapia’s nomination as their representative. I was introduced to Tipene, the school’s teacher of te reo Māori, a young man of Ngāti Porou decent. He was a talented young man of Tainui decent who looked to be about thirty. He shared his thoughts about the protocols for pōwhiri when someone with Papera Hakapia’s mana joined an organisation. He knew her well as she was one of his aunties and he had grown up seeing her regularly on their marae. Tipene appeared relaxed and confident in his role as cultural advisor to me and the board and told me not to worry about a thing. Together, and with the help of the board’s secretary we planned every detail paying close attention to ensuring that the board had an opportunity to ask questions or make requests. I felt it was so important to make a good impression and the board to forge a strong and positive relationship with Papera Hakapia from the outset. I even practiced saying Papera Hakapia’s name every day, so my Pākehā tongue, a seemingly sentient entity with a mind of its own, would behave when I attempted to speak te reo, and would not let me down.

Tūtakitaki/First Contact

Papera Hakapia attended her first meeting with the board exactly one month after the board had agreed to invite her. She arrived fifteen minutes after the board meeting had started, as arranged, to ensure the board had ample time to ask questions prior to their participation in the pōwhiri. This was the first time any of

the board had been involved in a powhiri and I was surprised how genuinely anxious they all were.

I stood nervously by the window and when I saw Papera Hakapia's car slowly pull up outside the administration building the initial nerves that occupied my stomach were banished by a seed of excitement that slowly grew in their place. Papera Hakapia's daughter was driving and as she assisted her mother to exit the car, she kissed her and took her elbow to guide her to the gate.

I left the board room and walked down the stairs to the foyer, to meet them. I recited her name over and over in my head, trying to settle my tongue behind my teeth. As I opened the front door to the two women standing in front of me, I relaxed. I can do this, I told myself resolutely as I opened the heavy glass door and watched the two women walk slowly, deliberately, up the manicured pathway. I studied Papera Hakapia, noticing how tiny she was, she looked almost frail. She wasn't the, scary matriarch, the kuia hautupua I had met when I visited the marae last week. Instead she had transformed into the epitome of the trusted grandmother. Her soft grey hair framed a strong and intelligent face. I noticed as she stepped forward to kiss me warmly on the cheek that the only vestige that remained of last week's wahine toa was the beautiful taonga still hanging around her neck.

"Kia ora Whaea," I greeted her, with a confidence I wasn't feeling. "Kei te pēhea koe?" I asked, as I kissed her lightly back.

Papera Hakapia smiled kindly and replied, "Kei te pai ahau, me koe?"

"Ka pai," I replied.

I greeted Papera Hakapia's daughter enthusiastically, "Kia ora e hoa." I kissed her on the cheek.

"Aunty!" Called a confident voice from behind me and stepping smoothly around me Tipene gently enveloped Papera Hakapia in a strong bear hug as he kissed her reverently on her softly wrinkled cheek. With that I melted thankfully into the background having completely exhausted my tenuous grasp of te reo Māori. I watched with relief as Tipene confidently maneuvered both our guests up the stairs, quietly chatting to them in te reo Māori. His command of te reo, his ease and fluency, his unassuming mana belied his tender age. Papera Hakapia listened carefully, nodding sagely and only once clicked her tongue at him as we made our way to the Board room door.

As we entered the room Board members looked up nervously, the conversation arresting like the heart of a dying man. Tipene guided us through the protocols, beginning with a mihi whakatau, and concluding with karakia. He sang a haunting waiata when Papera Hakapia concluded her mihi whakatau. I even managed some semblance of a waiata when the Board Chair concluded his brief oration.

The room grew ominously quiet as we all waited expectantly.

The Chair turned to Tipene, “Thank you for your assistance this evening,” he said. “It has been very helpful.”

Turning to Papera Hakapia he smiled a tight smile, “And ... ah ... thank you too.” He looked down nervously at his board agenda as if expecting it to talk him through the next thirty seconds. Then raising his head tentatively, he looked at Papera Hakapia and clearing the bird feathers from his throat said, “And ah ... so ... ah ... so ... um, what should we call you?”

My eyes instantly locked on Tepene’s. His pupils dilated, his jaw firmed, and he looked as though he was going to implode. Here it comes I thought.

Then, with the grace of an angel Papera Hakapia replied, “Ko Papera Hakapia ahau. Āe,” she confirmed with a smile, “Ka taea e koe te karanga mai ki ahau.” No one moved, the room held its breath. “You can call me Papera Hakapia,” she repeated calmly, this time in English, reinforcing the connection she was there to build.

With that, she smiled encouragingly, clasped her hands in her lap and settled back comfortably into her Chair.

I think I might have been the only person, except perhaps for Tipene who sensed the uncompromising wero in her words. The Chair smiled a stiff smile and the rest of the board members looked down as they shuffled their board papers.

I sighed to myself and thought - not for the first time – “and so it begins!”

SECTION 2 Trusteeship/Kaitiakitanga

Entitled or Entitlement

I began this chapter with a nonfiction narrative designed to inject a human element and texture into an assumptive understanding many Pākehā/*non-Māori* hold that being on a board of trustees in their child’s local school is more of a social or prestigious position than it is a governing body of state funded schools in AotearoaNew Zealand established in the legislative

of the AotearoaNew Zealand. As well, the writing allowed me to create an insight into the often-fraught model of governance that exists under the Education Amendment Act, 1989. As narrator, I described my experiences as an advisor to a board of trustees when those members were charged with the appointment of a representative from the rūnanga ā-iwi/local tribal authority/ to the board of trustees. In crafting the narrative, I analysed the anecdotes shared with me by participants who were all board members and then through my own reflexive practice personalised those events (see Figure 10) to create a compelling nonfiction narrative that allows for the vicarious involvement for readers in the research act.

The nonfiction narrative was not a simple re-telling of that experience of working with a monocultural board, instead it was my interpretation of how individuals responded to the events that transpired and how I responded to their response. I then linked those events to my knowledge of the literature around the importance of good governance and partnership (Kingi, 2007), not only as required by the Education Act 1989, but also as is mandated in te Tiriti o Waitangi/*the Treaty of Waitangi*. I wrote about my observations of some trustees who approached their governance role with a clear sense of entitlement rather than a philosophy of service before self. I explored some of the taken-for-granted assumptions board members proffered as truth when talking about good governance and their role on the board. The chapter is structured around poignant quotes I lifted from the nonfiction narrative because they helped me to encapsulate the subtle difference I observed between Māori and Pākehā/*non-Māori* perspectives around good governance. I close this chapter with a brief examination of the challenges I faced as a Pākehā/*non-Māori* facilitator working with a monocultural secondary school board of trustees in the *North Island* of AotearoaNew Zealand to encourage both a cultural and philosophical shift in some board members' thinking about partnership under te Tiriti o Waitangi/*the Treaty of Waitangi*. From this discussion I was able to explore the changes I also knew I had to make if I wanted to achieve a more inclusive and collaborative approach to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice.

SECTION 3 Partnership Not Patronage

The Education Act 1989 outlined key roles and responsibilities that boards of trustees had in the governance of state schools. In 2015 the Education Act was amended, and three significant changes clarified these roles and responsibilities for schools and trustees alike. The first change brought all the various roles and responsibilities of boards of trustees together in one place in the Act in Schedule 6. The second change made it clear, for the first time in the

Act, that a board is the governing body of a school and is responsible for setting the schools' policies. The third change made explicit the obligation on boards to be consistent with the principles of te Tiriti o Waitangi/*the Treaty of Waitangi* when performing their roles and responsibilities. This reinforced the requirement of each board to consider te Tiriti o Waitangi/*the Treaty of Waitangi* under the Ministry of Education's (NAG) National Education Goal 9 (2015). Matters such as employment, providing a safe and inclusive environment, cultural diversity, and planning and reporting remain key foci for all boards; but since 2015 their paramount concern is the responsibility to ensure each student can attain their highest possible standard in educational achievement.

When Pākehā board members' default thinking is *our board* and *our school* the resulting board dynamic is predicated on the assumption that Māori are invited to the table and not there as of right. te Tiriti o Waitangi/*the Treaty of Waitangi* enshrines partnership based upon mutual respect as paramount and equity in matters of self-determination as a fundamental right (Durie, M. H., 1998). I saw it as an interesting irony that board members, who were all Pākehā were surprised and frustrated that they could not attract and retain a local tribal/*rūnanga* representative. I wished to tease out what had influenced that paradox.

SECTION 4 From A Distance

According to the board Chair they had not had much success attracting and keeping a rūnanga representative and were faced, yet again, with filling that position.

It is a legislative requirement that boards of trustees must have raising student achievement as their paramount goal. The board believed it had a good understanding of this goal in terms of the students at the secondary school; however, when we discussed the needs of Māori students and what strategies the board employed to ensure they attained their highest possible standard in educational achievement, members could not articulate a specific goal for Māori achievement. Nor could they identify *ako/teaching and learning/* programmes specifically designed to reflect Māori students' cultural perspectives. In answer to my questions around whether Māori students felt confident, connected and safe at school, members of the board were "sure" that they did because all students did. These responses illustrate what Rosenberg (2004) refers to as "colour-blindness". *Colour-blindness* in this sense is a metaphor for Westerncentric ideology that claims, "not to see race while being conscious of it, as well as constituted by it" (p. 261). As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, when school culture does not reflect or acknowledge diversity it is difficult for students from cultures other than Pākehā/*non-*

Māori to be seen or acknowledged in relation to their strengths, competencies, and capabilities. This reinforces the insidious nature of institutional racism discussed earlier in Chapter 5 when I explored the *mōriroriro/cultural alienation* suffered by Kaharoa when he was a student at Papatūānuku High School. In his case the school was able to characterise his failure as his personal responsibility (Hare & Pidgeon, 2011). In doing so the school was absolved of any responsibility and if blame was to be attributed it would sit with Kaharoa and his *whānau/family*.

With the abdication of any responsibility or liability schools then enforce punitive approaches or tough sanctions to punish students who they feel have not tried hard enough or taken advantage of the opportunities offered to them. It is ironic that the AotearoaNew Zealand Ministry of Education has, over the past three decades, introduced a plethora of instructional reforms designed to address the disparities that exist between Māori and Pākehā student achievement. Such approaches often widen the gap and exacerbate systemic inequities rather than extinguishing them (Webber, 2012; Welton, Diem, & Holme, 2015). Board policies that ignore the importance of authentic cultural inclusion signal to Māori *whānau /families* that they, their children, and their culture, are irrelevant. Boards who fail to embrace this reality reinforce institutional racism and invariably find it almost impossible to recruit members of the local *rūnanga/tribal authority* to assist them in a governance role. It begs the question, why would the *rūnanga* assist in those circumstances?

SECTION 5 The Problem Is Yours

He added that one of the board's strengths was their commitment to fixing the problem with the "Maoris" always failing at school.

When I began working with the board to assist them to find a local *rūnanga/tribal representative* I was struck by the distinct lack of culturally diversity around the board table. This was surprising given the school was a large urban high school located in a university town, had a reasonably diverse student body, and 10% of the total student cohort were Māori. I searched for relevant literature that I could share with the board that would provide them with new insights into their governance role and connect them to the discourse of *hautūtanga/leadership* and governance from a bicultural perspective. I found useful research (Azad, Power, Dollin, & Chery, 2002) that addressed the changing composition and demography of significant populations in AotearoaNew Zealand; however, the balance of this writing came from the AotearoaNew Zealand health sector rather than from the education sector. I adopted this research and used Freire's *Teachers as Cultural Workers. Letters to Those*

Who Dare Teach (1998c) as a starting point for our initial discussions about inclusive schools and diversity. I felt it was important to challenge the misplaced assertion I had heard around the board table that Māori were a “problem” to be solved (Kukutai, 2011) at the secondary school.

In preparation for our second meeting I asked each board member to bring an artefact from home that was significant to them (Pahl, 2004) that they felt comfortable to share with the board as an icebreaker, given we would be working closely together for some months. I suggested it might be an opportunity to share some insights about what it was that had motivated each of them to join the board. The activity served two purposes: the first was to challenge my assumption that this was a group of middle-aged, monolingual, Pākehā/*Europeans*, who had no bicultural aspirations and no experience of, or in, culturally diverse settings; and the second was to ensure each board member had a voice and would be listened to in a safe and supportive environment.

When we began the activity, I noticed that some board members were very keen to share their personal artefacts with the group. As they told their stories they were transformed into different people, real people, people with their own hopes, dreams and aspirations. The activity shed new light onto who these board members were when they were not sitting around the board table. The exercise was invaluable in promoting open and honest discussion about their own cultural values and in asking and answering important questions about their understandings of diversity and inclusion (Yamasaki, Sharf, & Harter, 2014). The only unexpected challenge came when one of the less supportive board members refused to participate, saying their artefact was left on the bench at home. I felt the response as antipathy and was saddened that as a board member the person did not have more commitment to the collaborative style we were trying to grow around the table.

In exploring their own cultural beliefs, board members began to make tentative links to the importance of exploring the cultural beliefs of people who were not Pākehā. This preliminary work provided a foundation for later discussions around why it might be that members of the local *rūnanga/tribal authority* were disinclined to engage with the board. Some board members were challenged when we discussed what the AotearoaNew Zealand education system might look like if Māori language were compulsory, if all teaching resources were produced in Māori and in English, if 50% of the teaching force were Māori, if all schools had a Marae wāhi tapu /*a sacred place, a communal place* and if a noho Marae/*overnight stays* were an integrated aspect of school camp in Year 9 when students began their secondary school

journey. I asked them to consider that if that were the base-line for all educational provision would Māori still be defined as a problem? Many of these discussions became heated as some board members refused to accept that such things were possible, let alone necessary.

As our discussions continued over time, we debated whether they could, with any credibility, assert that their school reflected both Pākehā and Māori values and understandings. These discussions were often uncomfortable but as we drilled down into the literature and explored members' personal thinking and burgeoning understandings of Māori culture observable shifts in attitude began to occur. I began to see an acceptance by some board members that on an issue as important as their children's education Maori parents shared similar hopes and aspirations as they, themselves, did. What we teased out over time was that perhaps their long-held opinions and deep-seated assumptions about deviant Māori families, inferior Māori culture, and aberrant Māori lifestyles were simply wrong. This incongruity in their own thinking created a much needed disconnect from the stereotypical thinking evidenced in binary thinking. Over time our discussions centred on the problematic nature of schools relying on statistical inequalities as evidence of Māori deficiencies.

It was the board's growing cognisance of the ongoing impacts of nearly two hundred years of colonisation and the manifest inequalities that had resulted for Māori as a result that saw a significant shift in the board's collective thinking occur. When we discussed European settlement of AotearoaNew Zealand from a Māori perspective members of the board were better able to appreciate May's (2005) point that "not surprisingly perhaps, what resulted for Māori were the usual deleterious effects of colonisation upon an indigenous people - political disenfranchisement, misappropriation of land, population and health decline, educational disadvantage and socioeconomic marginalisation" (p. 366). I had written in my reflective journal after my first meeting with the board, and my embarrassment at the "snorting" at my mihi/*formal greeting* by one board member, that "*ātetenga/resistance takes many forms and wears many faces. This was not going to be a quick fix and I had a feeling that Jeff and our surreptitious snorter were not going to make things easy.*" While it certainly was not easy, it was possible and the board's slow conscientisation around the importance of cultural awareness began to shed a new light for some members on who owned the problem of their collective failure to attract and maintain a local tribal/*rūnanga* representative. Board members slowly came to a place where they realised the importance of connectedness, mutually respectful relationships, and the need for bicultural approaches to help them connect with their local Māori community and not perhaps the other way around. Having redefined the so-called problem the

next step was to explore strategies that would assist the board to provide what Tolich (2002) refers to as a “culturally safe environment” for Māori students and their whānau/*families* at their local school.

SECTION 6 Perceptions, Assumptions and Realities

I informed the meeting that I had spoken with the Chairperson of the local Rūnanga Education Committee and she had recommended a kuia/respected female elder who had indicated a willingness to join the board.

I had been careful not to hurry the work required to assist board members to engage with new and often confronting ideas and concepts around Māori participation in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system (Bishop et al., 2009) lest I alienated the more entrenched board members. I wrote in my reflective journal how difficult I found it as a facilitator, when just as the group seemed to be making positive progress, out of left field a board member challenged my suggestion that the board might like to hold a hui/*meeting* for Māori parents to canvas their opinions around governance and the school’s Charter. The board member informed me in no uncertain terms that Māori parents, “*never turn up, they don’t care about the school and they sure as hell don’t care about their kids.*” I realised that such deficit thinking emerged from what Smart (1994) describes as:

Practices, technique and methods which infiltrate minds and bodies, cultural practices and cultivate behaviours and beliefs, tastes, desires and needs as seemingly naturally occurring qualities and properties embedded in the psychic and physical reality (or truth) of the human subject (p. 210).

I accepted that the deficit thinking around the board table would not change immediately, just because I willed it so, instead it would take time, patience, and scaffolded professional learning programmes. Without a clear and coherent approach such negative assumptions and vitriolic assertions would continue to surface and resurface until board members had developed the cognitive muscle memory required to assimilate the reality of the alienating effect Westerncentric hegemony and monocultural environments have had on Māori for over 150 years.

Our discussions around diversity, inclusion, cultural safety (Ramsden, 2002) and what a culturally safe environment should look like at the school lasted for six months. During that time, I contacted the chairperson of their local *rūnanga* education committee and arranged to meet her to discuss the possibility of the committee helping the board to find a representative. One significant issue she raised was the school's lack of consideration in the past of the workload local Māori leaders experienced when faced with a plethora of requests to engage with the Pākehā community and the propensity for some requests to be of the tick-box compliance variety. She described the disconnect that often occurred between the cultural expectations of Māori leaders and their Pākehā contemporaries. For Māori, she explained, the intrinsic quality of true *hautūtanga/leadership* lay in the leader's ability to realise the aspirations of their people and their communities through their personal service to the *iwi/tribe*. The associated accountabilities Māori leaders feel are strongly connected to the overt expectations the *iwi/tribe* or *rūnanga* express regarding the *iwi's/tribe* realisation of *Tino rangatiratanga/self-determination*. She described Māori leaders as an important vehicle through which Māori communities legitimise *tino rangatiratanga/sovereignty*.

It is not surprising therefore that many busy Māori leaders prefer to disengage if they perceive a genuine lack of sincerity from the groups or institutions who seek their input and gauge their invitations as nothing more tokenism. Part of my *mahi/work* as a facilitator was to break down those barriers. I remember cringing, however, when a board member who was trying to support me at one of our initial meetings, said emphatically, "*We've been over and over this and that is why we have Peggy here. She's going to find us one.*" While having the best intentions that particular board member illustrated a very real Pākehā assumption that Māori are only ever considered guests at the table and not equal partners when it comes to issues of authority and governance. I focussed over the next four weeks on providing literature for board members to promote discussions that centred around the social construction of Whiteness (Frankenburg, 1993) and the hegemonic practice of what Bonnett (1997) terms "Othering ethnic minorities". As board members explored their own assumptions and understandings of the implications of being White in AotearoaNew Zealand, little by little I observed a positive shift away from what I had observed in some board members as overt racism. Board members were debating for the first time the possibility that they were unwittingly complicit in perpetuating implicit and shared assumptions that race was a description reserved for people who are non-White (Mika, 2014) and that to be White was the norm in AotearoaNew Zealand.

SECTION 7 Kanohi Ki Te Kanohi

Over the next four weeks I worked with Board secretary to ensure that we had Papera Hakapia at the next Board meeting.

I must confess to my growing anxiety as the board prepared to welcome Papera Hakapia to the September 2013 board meeting. At one of our Saturday meetings prior to Papera Hakapia's first board meeting we began a discussion about cultural competence (Betancourt et al., 2016). I asked the board to offer definitions to illustrate their understanding of the concept to gauge the range of thinking around the table. Núñez (2000) defines cultural competence as "a set of skills that allow individuals to increase their understanding of cultural differences and similarities within, among, and between groups" (p. 1071). There was a myriad of views, from "what *"Māoris" need to do,*" to the need for Māori to be respectful of "*how we do things around here,*" to an assertion that it was important to develop "*an action plan [and] get a person in place as soon as possible?*" What I did not hear at this stage of the process was an articulated view that the board may need to adopt new approaches to *hautūtanga/leadership* and governance.

In the context of addressing the needs of Māori students and their whānau/families I asked the board to consider what they would see if they juxtaposed Māori and Pākehā student achievement at their school. I asked them to consider the writing of Núñez, whose work in the area of health translates easily to an educational setting. Núñez (2000) argues that minorities "receive different and usually inadequate health care compared with that received by members of the majority culture" (p. 1,071). In discussing that claim I asked board members whether they felt that Māori students enjoyed the same quality of care, ease of access, and personal attention their Pākehā peers did at school. I was heartened that after nearly eight months of dialogue and discussion the board no longer defaulted to immediate deficit thinking.

The gradual process of conscientisation over six months challenged the board members who had initially resisted change. I was curious to know if they were perhaps afraid of losing control of their school or perhaps, they recognised they lacked the skill required to embrace that change. Or perhaps it was now they faced having to consider the role education plays in AotearoaNew Zealand in determining the life chances of Maori, and their duty of care as a governing body to ensure all students could achieve to their full potential, they were challenged to consider new ways of leading. if they wished to ensure equity in the educational achievement of all the children at the secondary school. Núñez (2000) asks that more than cultural

competence is considered and advocates the need for cross-cultural efficacy as a goal of cross-cultural education. R. Maaka and Fleras (2000) argue:

In arguing for primacy, I suggested the board that such discourse could be criticised as nothing more than an attempt at role reversal. Instead I asked them to consider their efficacy as a board if they asserted that neither culture should offer a preferred view at the school but instead were seen to embody partnership and mutual respect.

SECTION 8 Making Connections, Building Relationships

Then, with the grace of an angel Papera Hakapia replied, “Ko Papera Hakapia ahau. “Ae,” she confirmed with a smile, “You can call me that. You can call me Papera Hakapia,” she repeated calmly, reinforcing the connection she was there to build.

Effective *hautūtanga/leadership* is dependent upon individuals and groups sharing the same values, aspirations and fundamental goals. I believed that the school board and the Māori whānau/families whose children attended the school did share a deep commitment to learning, they did value excellence, and they did have as their fundamental goal student achievement. What they did not share was a mutually beneficial approach to ensuring the realisation of those commonalities. Skerrett (2010) argues that effective *hautūtanga/leadership* sits within the ethos of tikanga Māori/Māori customs, protocols and procedures, and requires all leaders to:

Make the necessary connections between school governance, management, and community while maintaining a strong focus on providing optimal conditions and support for their students. Such leaders have a zero tolerance for failure and do not allow low expectations or organisational barriers to get in the way. They focus on learning and achievement (p. 9).

Papera Hakapia's appointment to the board of trustees was a wero/challenge to and for the board and for the school's community. The initial Pākehā paralysis (Tolich, 2002) I observed when board members found themselves unable to respond in te reo Māori/Māori language when Meri Te Tai smiled and said “Ko Papera Hakapia ahau. Ae, you can call me that,” was quickly replaced with a tentative confidence born of slow and deliberate preparation for success. The board had mitigated, by doing the mahi/work required, the emotional and intellectual difficulties that many Pākehā experience when they find themselves engaging in social, cultural, economic, and/or political relations with Māori. Some board members were initially negative due to previous experiences with Māori, others were genuinely fearful of getting things wrong, and yet others articulated the desire to avoid perpetuating Māori cultural tokenism. I

recognised that the common thread to all these natural human anxieties was not overt racism, but a lack of cross-cultural efficacy overlaid with a personal confusion about what the so-called right course of action may be (Barnes, A., 2004).

Papera Hakapia's response was a *wero/challenge* to old colonialist ways of thinking and behaving and it was also a clear signal to the board of her intention to work with them to build a strong partnership based on mutually trusting and supportive relationships that would benefit both Māori and Pākehā at the school. I felt Papera Hakapia personified what A. Barnes (2004) argues is effective Māori *hautūtanga/leadership*, that:

Continuing intersection between what is traditional and what is contemporary with regards to how Māori ... leaders define themselves and their roles within Kaupapa Māori contexts (p. 9).

In the first two decades of the 21st century Māori *hautūtanga/leadership* has morphed from exclusively Tikanga Māori/*Māori customs, protocols and procedures*, to include local, national, and international understandings of *hautūtanga/leadership* within diverse cultural settings (Barnes, A., 2004). It was now, as a fully constituted board, that members were faced with the important *wero/challenge* of accepting and accommodating those important components of mutually respectful, inclusive, and sustainable bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership*.

SECTION 9 Summary

The Challenge of Uncomfortable Change

My primary research question was framed around changes I wanted to make to my *hautūtanga/leadership* practice that would resonate with, impact positively on, and make a significant difference to, Māori students' experiences of school. My experiences working with a sister school board of trustees left some lasting *hautūtanga/leadership* impressions with me. While documenting my daily interactions with the participants I was continually challenged both professionally and personally to re-evaluate what I had assumed was good governance. I discussed with the board that I had found it was only by looking through a new lens, at myself, my culture, and my understanding of *hautūtanga/leadership* could I then begin to see alternative possibilities. I have already mentioned above how painful I found the constant interrogation of self, but nothing had prepared me for the direct challenge to my perceptions of

self and truth (Besley & Peters, 2007) quite as profoundly as the data I collected when working with the board of trustees. The data repeatedly captured participants' descriptions of the imposition of cultural imperatives, protocols, and practices that were unnecessary to them as trustees. The constant rejection of the importance of inclusion and the repeated slights and slurs aimed at Māori generally wore me down over time. I realised that conscientisation was a long, slow process and could only be achieved with infinite patience and ironically, by tolerance. Their resolute ātetenga/resistance to Māori cultural imperatives seemed to neatly frame what I saw as the dichotomy that existed between Westerncentric power and control, and Māori self-determination in AotearoaNew Zealand generally and our education system specifically.

While working as a facilitator to assist the board of trustees at the secondary school to appoint a rūnanga ā-iwi/*tribal authority* representative to their ranks, I observed first-hand the invisibility of the local rūnanga/*tribal authority* at their community school. It was never my intention to criticise the school or its community when I articulated the view that having no Māori representation on their board was unacceptable. It was instead my wero/*challenge* to the board to be brave, be bold, and show hautūtanga/*hautūtanga/leadership* by embracing their feelings of uncomfortable but unavoidable anxiety and doing the mahi/*work* required.

Although I had been invited to assist the board in this instance, I was quick to assure members that I was not an expert in tikanga Māori/*Māori customs, protocols and procedures*, nor was I practised the intricacies of Māori hautūtanga/*hautūtanga/leadership*. What I was able to bring to the board table in this instance was my own understanding of, and commitment to, the importance to all students' learning and achievement of bicultural hautūtanga/*hautūtanga/leadership* practices. Hohepa and Robson (2008) argue that:

Hautūtanga/leadership needs to be able to resonate with Māori conceptions of *hautūtanga/leadership* to the extent that it can embrace a) the sources of Māori *hautūtanga/leadership* influence and b) *hautūtanga/leadership* purposes that are important to Māori (p. 31).

It was this kind of change in my own hautūtanga/*hautūtanga/leadership* practice I was deliberately developing, and I felt that collaborating with the board of trustees would be mutually beneficial, and as well instrumental in helping us all to make that important transition to a bicultural hautūtanga/*hautūtanga/leadership* paradigm.

New Learning

As discussed in Chapter 2, the introduction of Tomorrow's Schools in 1988, saw a shift to decentralisation in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system and a complete restructuring of the traditional model of school governance. What did not change to any significant degree however was the inherent privileging of Westerncentric perspectives (Panoho, 2012) in the management and governance of schools. As a result, what failed to develop in school governance over the next thirty years was an acceptance of cultural diversity, inclusion, and a commitment to biculturalism in all its manifestations. In my time working with the secondary school board of trustees I learned that, as a group, they did not consciously reject biculturalism but did default to deficit models of thinking when it came to Māori engagement and success; as well as this I observed entrenched hegemonic perspectives (Hauser, Howlett, & Matthews, 2009) around the so-called right to govern and the requisite skills needed for successful *hautūtanga/hautūtanga/leadership*.

What I observed as a facilitator was the powerful influence a life-time of Westerncentric enculturation had had on each board members to one degree or another. Their stoic and negative assumptions around Māori student learning (Leithwood et al., 2004) and Māori *whānau/family* engagement struck me as nothing more than a learned uniformity of thinking located in a collective psyche of superiority. I reflected on how Young-Eisendrath and Dawson (2008) identify the links between privilege and how Jung and Read (1953) referred to it as the "collective unconscious." I grappled with the knowledge that Westerncentric understandings of political power and control had been forged by 150 years of colonial oppression and hegemonic paradigms that were embedded white privilege. The thought of challenging such a construct to effect systemic change was almost overwhelming.

New Understandings

Pursuing systemic change because you believe it is the right thing to do, it is argued here, is the embodiment of what Kant described as a "categorical imperative". Paton (1971) explains:

The categorical imperative, unlike the hypothetical, can and must be applied independently of our particular desire for a particular end (p. 134).

It is this emphatic rejection of the idea that a so-called ruling class should be free to manipulate in an illicit manner the value system and mores of a society, so that their view becomes the world view (Gramsci, 1992) that underpinned my greatest new learning. Over the past thirty years AotearoaNew Zealand has become a more and more dynamic, diverse, and complex

society. That complexity is defined not by one (Pākehā) world view, but by multiple world views, and it is the invisibility of alternatives to anything but a Pākehā world view that diminishes us as a nation.

When thinking about how leaders could and should lead in this era of complexity, I reflected on Fullan's (2011b) work on *hautūtanga/leadership* within complex organisations. Fullan (2014) suggests the more complex an organisation becomes the more sophisticated the *hautūtanga/leadership* strategies must be. If I extrapolate Fullan's discussion from organisations to society then his work transcends the physical and reaches to the metaphysical, allowing us to argue that:

When organisations (society) are in a crisis they have to be rescued from chaos. But a crisis usually means that the organisation (society) is out of synch with its environment. In this case, more radical change is required, and this means the organisation (society) needs *hautūtanga/leadership* that welcomes differences, communicates the urgency of the challenge, talks about broad possibilities in an inviting way, and creates mechanisms that motivate people to reach beyond themselves (p. 47).

I grew to appreciate that it may not be an understatement to claim that AotearoaNew Zealand is currently facing a crisis of *ahurea tuakiri/cultural identity* and representation.

A New Truth

While working with the secondary school board of trustees I came to understand the real work of leaders in the 21st century demanded seriousness and scientific, physical, emotional, and affective preparation (Freire, 1998b). My focus as an autoethnographer had helped me to make connections, to influence and be influenced, and most importantly, to discover new truths about deep-rooted imperatives. The new truth for me came from a tangible understanding of the debilitating cost to AotearoaNew Zealand of the institutional racism that had, until this point, gone unnoticed by me. Applebaum's (2004) asserts that "resisting racism requires that whiteness be made visible to white people" (p. 59) owning this truth was my first step in developing a critical awareness of the cultural privilege enjoyed by the children of the dominant class and the *mōriroriro/cultural alienation* suffered by the children of the oppressed.

My lack of understanding of this cultural binary had masked for me what I now saw as the abdication of the ethical and moral responsibility by our state education system to ensure equity of opportunity, inclusion, and success for all children in AotearoaNew Zealand.

Some might cite G. Hingangaroa Smith when arguing that my accusation of abdication of ethical and moral responsibility is too confrontational given that in recent history Māori have successfully implemented a strategy for *kura kaupapa Māori*/Māori medium instruction. G. H. Smith (2003) argues that:

Greater autonomy over key decision-making in schooling has been attained for example in regard to administration, curriculum, pedagogy and Maori cultural aspirations. A major point is that because Maori people are in charge of the key decision-making, they are able to make choices and decisions that reflect their cultural, political, economic and social preferences (p. 10).

I accept Smith's assertion that in the development of *kura kaupapa Māori*/Māori medium instruction was accomplished for Māori by Māori. My argument, simply put, is until Māori are included in governance at all levels of key decision-making, relating to mainstream education, they are unable to make choices and decisions for their children that reflect Māori cultural, political, economic, and social preferences. I discovered that as an educational leader I did not need to step down, or step aside, for Māori to participate at all levels of educational *hautūtanga/leadership*. Instead, I realised I needed to step up and to step, with humility, into an unfamiliar landscape in order to forge new pathways towards an education system based of binary congruité where Pākehā knowledge, culture, and values compliment not consume those of Māori in a way that makes sense to all AotearoaNew Zealanders.

Final Thoughts

As I looked at this diminutive Māori kuia, I could see why people who did not know her could completely dismiss her in their arrogance! I always find it a humbling experience to be in the presence of native speakers of te reo Māori/*Māori language* There is something special about an individual who can bring the reo/*language* to life. A native speaker does not have to

translate in their head as they speak. The language flows in them and through them in a rhythmic cadence, an intrinsic linguistic act, as much a part of the speaker as breathing.

I listened with my developing ear for the words and phrases I knew, and I tried to make sense of the korero/*speaking*. But to be truthful it was not until Papera Hakapia reverted to English that I really understood what she had been telling us. Inextricably linked as she was to the mountains, rivers, *iwi*, *hapū*, and *whānau* of her region, she had also walked with confidence in the Pākehā world. She had been a teacher, had loved children, education and learning, and was a life-long-learner. With a sense of humility, she told us of her role as a *kaumātua* for her *iwi*, and her involvement with the establishment of *te Kōhanga Reo*, both Nationally and locally on her own *marae*. I was interested to learn that she had re-trained in Law and had lived in various parts of AotearoaNew Zealand, before returning home to her local *iwi* to advance their historical land claims. She was clearly a force to be reckoned with.

Whāia te iti kahurangi ki te tūohu koe me he maunga teitei
Seek the treasure you value most dearly: if you bow your head, let it be to a lofty mountain

CHAPTER 8 TINO RANGATIRATANGA/MAORI SELF DETERMINATION

SECTION ONE Nonfiction Narrative

Wow! You've Made Some Assumptions There!
[Reflective Journal, Vol 4:120828].

From: Mathematics Teacher
Sent: Wednesday, 1 August 2012 3:19 p.m.
To: Year 12 Cohort Parents
Subject: Parent Interviews tomorrow

To Parents of my Mathematics students,
Unfortunately, I am not available for Parent Interviews on Thursday due to
suffering from a flu bug. This means I have a sore throat and a headache. If
you have made a booking with me, please reply via this email and ask any
relevant questions. I will reply as soon as possible.
Many thanks
Mathematics Teacher

From: Dianne Collier
Sent: Thursday, 2 August 2012 1:59 p.m.
To: Mathematics Teacher
Subject: Re: FW: Parent Interviews tomorrow

Thanks for your email. I hope you feel well again soon.
I won't be making an appointment with any teachers this time around. I am
sure that all of my son's teachers will be saying the same thing, that he needs
to work harder, he needs to do more homework, he needs to ask questions, he
needs to complete tasks ... I know it, and so does he, but as he is 18 next month,
I also believe he needs to take responsibility for his own successes and
failures.
I am not a disinterested parent; quite the contrary! But I won't be meeting
with the teachers this term.
All the best,

Dianne Collier-Robinson

From: Mathematics Teacher

Subject: RE: FW: Parent Interviews tomorrow

To: Dianne Collier

Date: Tuesday, 7, August 2012, 4:21 PM

Hi Dianne

Confiscate the play-station, it is destroying his character and his chances of success in Calculus. He is only a shadow of what I expected, as he does not have the discipline to work before play.

Thanks

Mathematics Teacher

From: Dianne Collier

To: Mathematics Teacher

Cc: Peggy Burrows

Sent: Tuesday, 7 August 2012 7:43 PM

Subject: RE: FW: Parent Interviews tomorrow

Wow! You've made some assumptions there! We don't have a play station. His character is intact. I am rather offended by your email.

Dianne

From: Peggy Burrows

To: Dianne Collier; Mathematics Teacher

Cc: Deputy Principal

Sent: Tuesday, 7 August 2012 8:44 PM

Subject: Re: FW: Parent Interviews tomorrow

Kia Ora Diane

Nga mihi nui.

Thank you for including me in this email thread. I am really surprised to read the comments made.

Last year Levi achieved 23 Excellence credits, 38 Merit credits and 35 Achieved credits. This year he has already achieved 7 Excellence Credits and 11 at Achieved.

He is a young man with HUGE potential and I know I don't have to tell you that. If it's OK with you I might meet with him informally in the day or so to touch base and see how I can assist.

I take your point about the play station. You don't achieve what he has been able to achieve in the past by not keeping your eye on the ball. I need to work out what has happened this year.

I will be catching up with his Mathematics Teacher about this, as he is one of our best and most talented teachers.

I will be in touch.

I runga i te hau o mihi.

Peggy

From: Dianne Collier

To: Peggy Burrows

Sent: Wednesday, 8 August 2012 12:25 AM

Subject: Levi

Kia ora Peggy

Thanks for your prompt reply.

While you have only known my son for a year and a half, you have shown interest in him as a person. I would like to fill you in about Levi, as this may be of interest particularly in view of the presumptions made by his maths teacher this year.

Levi has suffered from asthma from 3 months. In Rotorua emergency, they knew us so well the nurses knew his NHL number without looking it up!

Levi has been brought up with te reo Maori as his first language; it was a choice of ours, and we spoke only reo Maori to him, he attended Kōhanga Reo for 4 years, he was in immersion education for his first 6 years at school in Rotorua. Not only was the language everywhere for him, tikanga Maori was at the forefront; it is an integral SECTION of who he is, whether he thinks about it or not. There have been times when he realises how important certain

matters of tikanga are to him; at other times, he appears not to "care", one way or the other. These were choice we made for his upbringing, and there is not a day that goes by when I am not thankful for those thought processes that brought Fayne and I to make those decisions.

Levi started school able to read and write (in Maori). Before he started school, he knew all 150 Pokémon characters by name, and could recognise their names.

After he had been at school 6 weeks, they did the NE assessment - 5yr NET - and I was called in afterwards. The literacy support Kaiako had to call in the local Resource Teacher of Maori to finish off his assessment, as she had never had a 5yr old who could discuss their maths reasoning in the way that he was, and he was doing basic maths and division, and able to talk about it. Whaea Atawhai didn't have the language skills to continue the testing and had to call in Nanny Hiro to finish it off. They signalled that he was "gifted" in maths and from the following year (when he had been at school 3 months) he was going to a year 3 class at maths time. He taught himself to read English when he was about 7 because he wanted to read the instructions on some game his older brother was beating him at.

I want you to have a picture of Levi the whole person, just in case this goes any further.

Following our move to Tuahiwi six and a half years ago, Levi had 2 years in bi-lingual with Whaea Mel, then continued his immersion education at TKKM "Whakapumau" in Opawa for years 9-10-11. When he started at Rangiora High last year as a Year 12 student, that was his first year in an English medium setting, and he had come from a school with 30 students in the High School, and 6 students in his class, to a school of (then) over 1,700 and 30+ in each class! He had been taught very little formal English at all.

He wanted to go to your school, and even he had to reluctantly admit to some "culture shock" at first. He missed out on some sports teams last year because he didn't know how the system worked. (He soon learned) He had, for all his life, greeted adults he encountered with a polite, albeit quiet, "kia ora" and he

commented on how different it was that only one or two teachers ever greeted him in return.

I know the 2012 Levi is not highly motivated; he has already passed NCEA Level 3 and he has commented from time to time that he doesn't see the point in doing a particular assessment as it isn't relevant (I think that recent comment was referring to a chemistry assignment). He is not a "nerdy" achiever, motivated by his own successes; he needs to find that one thing that "lights his fire" and I can't do that for him. He doesn't really know what he wants to do next year, but will go to University and do a B.Sc. Let's hope that during that course of study, he encounters a teacher or two who unlocks that passion in him, who can ignite a passion to do his best, because look out - when it happens, it will be tremendous!

I wish he would do more, I wish he would try harder, I wish he could appreciate how many doors are opened for those who are at the top, but I can't make him. I refuse to nag him about it; it's not a place I want to go to. He is a teenager, and while he "is only a shadow of what his Mathematics Teacher expected", he is a fabulous human being, kind hearted, caring, honest and trustworthy, deep thinking and loving.

Having expressed those sentiments, that teacher may well have further demotivated Levi to try at all. In fact, I think it may well turn him off giving any effort - why try for someone who obviously thinks so lowly of you? For that teacher to make presumptions about Levi and comment that play-station is destroying his character is highly offensive. Those comments may have done more to destroy Levi's chances of success in Calculus than anything else I can think of.

The boy who achieved 18 Excellence credits and 6 Merit credits in NCEA Level 1 Maori in 2007 while still at primary school - no discipline?

Enough of that now; sorry to assault you with these comments. Perhaps, however, it will paint a picture of my Levi. May I comment that in my view a teacher's job is not to complain about the children and what their lives are like at home, but to continue trying to unlock their potential, and if that means

doing something differently in order to achieve that, then that is what should happen.

Ki runga i te aroha, ka nui te mihi ki a koe, te tumuaki o te kura nunui o te rohe nei.

Nahaku iti noa,

Nā Dianne

SECTION 2 Tino Rangatiratanga/Self-Determination

Introduction

Ko te ara tōngakengake he ara kōpikopiko, he wāhi koru noa, pēnei i te whatu o te ngake o te kupenga kaharoa

The pathway identified as ‘winding’ is coiled and looped like the mesh of a seine net

When I sat down to write this chapter, I reflected upon my assertion in Chapter 1 that I was a research nomad and this study was an exploration of my journey as an educational leader seeking a deeper understanding of *hautūtanga/leadership* in a bicultural context. In the role of the nomad I did wander as a foreigner through an unfamiliar landscape, creating as I went a winding pathway cut from my new learning, new knowledge and deeper understandings of *hautūtanga/leadership* in a bicultural setting. By extending the metaphor I offer this chapter as the final way station integral to my nomadic journey in this autoethnographical odyssey. This study was never going to be a simple “how too,” self-help” mapping of the bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* terrain, nor was it ever intended to be a simple representation of all or part (Thrower, 2008) of the bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* landscape. I did not want to limit the possibilities and potential of this metaphorical map by simply mirroring my Westerncentric understandings of what I heard, observed and felt as I lived my journey.

I do not offer here a traditional map, created to mirror my reality of a specific place at a particular point in time. Such maps, as Stephens (2002) contends, do not exist. At best he argues a map is a distortion because:

That place has been intentionally reduced in size, and its contents have been selectively distilled to focus on one or two Particular items. The results of this reduction and distillation are then encoded into a symbolic representation of the place.

Finally, this encoded, symbolic image of a place has to be decoded and understood by a map reader who may live in a different time period and culture (p.1).

As first a nomad and then cartographer I discovered that along the way from reality to reader, maps will invariably lose some if not all their reflective capacity and the images, initially so vibrant may become blurred (Stephens, 2002). Chapters 4 to 7 of this thesis are my “along the way,” and as way-stations each chapter provided me with room to reflect, distil and encode my academic and visceral new learning about the significance of bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* practices to Māori students and their whānau. I ensured each chapter was written both as a standalone piece. However, I ensured that collectively the chapters formed a more powerful literary text able to clearly highlight of the importance of biculturalism and bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* pedagogies in the Aotearoa New Zealand education system. Collectively the chapters are the winding pathway that coiled and looped like the kupenga kaharoa/mesh of a seine net from one juncture to the next. Each chapter deliberately scaffolded the next and all revealed the interconnectivity of the five key themes that emerged from the data. Ultimately each chapter is a snap shot of my new learning.

Chapter 8 is my final way-station and like all cartographers who were also explorers I paused at this juncture to revisit the detail, check the accuracy and the authenticity of the cultural representations included. Murton’s (2012) offers both researcher and reader a cautionary warning that:

Academic explorers Native and non-Native alike will notice different aspects of a territory and produce different maps. In their diverse places, these explorers will be confronted with dissimilar intellectual terrains. Mistakes of perception and interpretation will be made, and the idea that there is one single true or complete map must be dismissed. (p.100).

I acknowledge that the topography may very well be different for the next traveller who seeks to map this same journey and that the way-stations may be slightly different in their positioning. What I am confident about however is the value of the journey and the benefit of adding to the way-stations as repositories of new knowledge.

I began this chapter with Dianne's narrative because it spoke to me of the love *whānau/families* have for their *tamariki/children* and an acknowledgement of the importance of education in their realisation of *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination*. I then moved to an explanation of the parallels I saw between feminist theory and the oppression of women in a patriarchal society with the theories of cultural oppression and the experiences of indigenous peoples in colonised societies. This led me to a discussion of my burgeoning understanding of the concept of *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination*, and its implications for my professional *hautūtanga/leadership*. I then explored the interconnectivities of the themes explored in Chapters 4 – 7 and discussed how each phenomenon contributes to the whole that is *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination*. I tease out what I observed as a distortion that occurred for the participation when their right to be *mana rangatiratanga/self-determining* was subsumed by hegemonic imperatives that confused coercion with consent. The chapter closes with my reflections around my own learning and the new knowledge that infused my thinking and helped me to chart this meandering pathway into a living map that assisted me to navigate the complex intellectual landscapes where Māori and Pākehā co-exist.

SECTION 3 The Realisation of Tino Rangatiratanga/Self-Determination

Discussions about *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination* in AotearoaNew Zealand will invariably begin with reference to *te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi*. As discussed in Chapter 1, signed in 1840 it is AotearoaNew Zealand's founding document and is the closest thing AotearoaNew Zealand has to a political constitution. It has been my observation after nearly thirty-eight years in schools that rather than being the linchpin for positive social and political relations between the British Crown and the Māori population the Treaty has instead been the site of struggle around the rights and obligations it promised signatories at the time of signing. This unresolved conflict arose from the differences in interpretation between Pākehā and Māori. Implicit in the English language version was the understanding that as partners Māori agreed to the ceding of all the rights and powers of sovereignty over their lands and in return the English recognised Māori had undisturbed possession of their lands, forests, fisheries, and other properties. Implicit in the *te reo Māori* version however was the understanding that Māori had ceded to the Crown *kāwanatanga katoa/complete governorship*, in exchange for the Crown's guarantee of *mana rangatiratanga/self-determination*; the unqualified exercise of chieftainship over their lands, dwelling places, and all other possessions.

Forty Māori ariki tauaroa/*paramount chief(s)* signed te Tiriti o Waitangi/*the Treaty of Waitangi*, and in doing so assumed they had formed a mutually beneficial alliance would deliver social, political and cultural benefits for all iwi in partnership with the Crown. Inherent in those understandings of Treaty Partnership was the guarantee of tino rangatiratanga/self-determination. If not, why would forty Māori ariki tauaroa/*paramount chief(s)* have agreed to sign it. M. H. Durie (1998) illustrates this point when he argues:

In 1840, New Zealand was in fact made up of numerous and independent states, geographically defined by tribal boundaries, and well accustomed to negotiations, trade and debate. Māori were politically astute, a fact not missed by the Crown, and which would have influenced the overall design of the Treaty. To this end, signatures would not have been given lightly and without an expectation of something in return. (p.18).

When I began this journey, I believed AotearoaNew Zealand was an egalitarian society. I had never fully appreciated my own position of privilege, nor had it occurred to me that such privilege came at a significant “cost” to specific others. Chapter 8 evolved into my exploration of that “cost” to Māori and to the absence of whakawhanaungatanga/*strong relationships* that underpin mutually respectful understandings of truth, justice, integrity and impartially. I wanted to test the concept of privilege defined here as unfettered access to natural, social and economic resources by a society’s dominant cultural group to the detriment of indigenous or other groups in that society.

My personal understanding of oppression had been framed by my undergraduate reading of feminist theory in the early 1990s (Stanley, L. & Wise, 1990). I understood sites of social and political struggle only when defined from a white female middle class perspective, and in reference to the bastions of male privilege. I had not moved far from that standpoint during the intervening years, still believing in 2010 that oppression belonged in the realm of patriarchal society. In my formative years as a young academic I had railed against academic arguments that women could not expect to break that glass ceiling, nor were they suited to key *hautūtanga/leadership* roles. The idea that women could not be self-determining was a trace my cohort vehemently kicked against as we argued the ideology of women’s rights and emancipation in the 20th century. So, as I engaged with the literature of ethnicity (Mahuika,

2008) in the 21st century I discovered similarities and parallels between the narratives of feminist writers and those of indigenous writers. What resonated with me was that sense of powerlessness individuals feel (Anaya, S. J., 2004) when they are refused the right to speak with authority about their own experiences, needs and expectations within the society to which they live. I first encountered the concept of Other when reading Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, written some thirty years before I entered university. I do not imply here that patriarchal oppression is synonymous with ethnic oppression, I merely observe that the parallels were a significant beginning point of my own conscientisation of the inequities that exist for Māori. Just as I had rejected sexism, I now rejected racism knowing that without concomitant economic, social and political advantage, Pākehā cultural hegemony would only ever perpetuate a society underpinned by winners and losers.

The passing of the Education Act (1877) established New Zealand's first free, secular and compulsory state funded education system, a system inherited from Britain and designed to meet the needs of a tightly structured class system. Little has changed in the intervening 140 years when even now the Education (Update) Amendment Act 2017 leaves Māori no alternative but to participate in a state funded education system that does not reflect te ao Māori/*Māori world view*. State schools in Aotearoa New Zealand exist in both the physical sense of bricks and mortar, but as well, as hegemonic constructs. Within both paradigms teachers are the 'cultural accomplices' (Smith, J., 2007), who naturalise Westerncentric paradigms that perpetuate and sustain achievement disparities between Māori and Pākehā students. When children begin school at age five, they do not arrive as empty vessels waiting to be filled; instead they arrive as complete entities (Deci & Ryan, 2000). For the five years prior to their entry into primary school all children have been immersed in their family culture and have experienced the world according specific norms, rituals, customs and understandings that underpin that culture through the whānau/*family* unit.

I have been lucky enough during my career to teach at all levels from five-year-olds to tertiary level. I have observed that even age five children are self-aware to the degree that they generally know what they are (gender), they generally know where they belong (ethnicity) and they generally know who they are (identity). School may become problematic for children when, added to their "what?" their "where?" and their "who?" is their "why?" For the purposes of this study I defined this 'why?' as that intuitive, embedded knowing and understanding a child has of their essential self in relation to their place in the world. I posit here the idea that the answer to the question of the "why" of self may be found in the interconnectivity between

whakapapa/*genealogy*, whenua/*land*, tangata/*people* and wairuatanga/*spirituality*. The “why” of self is that indefectible, indefinable essence of the individual, that thread that connects them to their past, present and future. In contemplating the importance of tino rangatiratanga/*self-determination* therefore it is difficult to ignore the immense need individuals have to be free to express themselves as they are and not as they are perceived or expected to be. Within the context of AotearoaNew Zealand schools the role of the institution in either celebrating diversity and inclusion or reinforcing hegemonic imperatives cannot be underestimated. The former celebrates tino rangatiratanga/*self-determination* and demonstrates the institution’s understanding of the importance of te ao Māori/Māori world view and an acceptance that for Māori there are inherent ways of being, knowing and moving through the world that validate the essence of the self for an indigenous person; the latter limits the life chances and outcomes of all individuals within the school setting.

During the data collection phase of this study I noticed a tension existed for participants at Papatūānuku High School. A tension manifest by the paradox of the heterotopic (Foucault, 1967) space and place of home and the hegemonic construct of school, where so often a clash of culture existed for them. I reflected on what I perceived to be the erosion of participants’ essential self when constantly faced with a redefinition and emasculation of their essential selves within the school setting. Working with participants and recording their experiences helped me to redefine my understanding of tino rangatiratanga/*self-determination*. Such redefinition was not an easy path to travel; and while I found myself grappling with personal feelings of guilt when confronted by the reality of the extent of my culpability in the oppression, manipulation of power and loss of personal autonomy of Māori. There were many unexpected obstacles that challenged my enculturated thinking and dared me to notice and accept previously unobserved examples of institutionalised racism and social disadvantage that affected Māori not just at Papatūānuku High School but within the education system. I came to realise that I was capable of change and in attempting to change I was taking a step towards a more culturally safety *hautūtanga/leadership* paradigm. I did not feel that sense of Pākehā paralysis described by Hotere-Barnes (2015) as:

Emotional and intellectual difficulties that Pākehā can experience when engaging in social, cultural, economic and political relations with Māori because of: a fear of getting it wrong; concern about perpetuating Māori cultural tokenism;

negative previous experiences with Māori; a confusion about what the ‘right’ course of action may be. (p.3).

That is not to say that I did not fear getting things wrong or that I immediately felt I knew what the “right” course of action was. I did not, and I was anxious to get it right. However, what I feared more at this juncture was doing nothing.

I decided I could do no more than be myself, set my moral compass; gather my bearings and commit to a new direction with a determination to effect positive change. I engaged more closely with the literature surrounding colonisation and the oppression of indigenous peoples (Alfred & Cornthassel, 2005; Smith, G. H., 2003, 2012). I made a conscience decision to modify my behaviour by listening more than I talked, to avoid defining Participants’ ‘experiences’ as ‘problems,’ and to make no assumptions about ‘solutions.’ That may sound easy, but it was not, it required the development of new intellectual muscle memory, and that was tough. I stated in Chapter 1 that the purpose of this study was to investigate and adopt *hautūtanga/leadership* strategies underpinned by the principles of Kaupapa Māori (Gardiner & Parata, 2007), and *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination* (Durie, M. H., 1998) thereby re-setting my pedagogical approach to *hautūtanga/leadership*. The building and sustaining of transformative relationships (Bishop & Berryman, 2006) with Māori in my own educational context required me to make an intellectual leap.

This truly was a leap of faith given my learned understandings of *hautūtanga/leadership* forged in childhood, reinforced as an academic and galvanised as an experienced Pākehā educational leader. As both product and perpetrator of a hegemonic educational paradigm where Westerncentric perspectives dominated policy, decision making and curriculum implementation I felt ill-equipped and had no real understanding of where to next. My intellectual metamorphosis therefore evolved intuitively as I began by challenging both my thinking and my assumptions. I accepted that I did not know what the needs, aspirations and preferences of Māori students and their *whānau/families* were at Papatūānuku High School. My greatest assumption had been that everyone involved with the school enjoyed the same opportunities and advantages it provided irrespective of ethnicity. In realising that this was not true I also realised that I could not solve this conundrum alone. As a Pākehā I had no moral authority to articulate the impetus, directions, or purpose of education for Māori. The challenge for me came when I realised that I needed to distribute *hautūtanga/leadership* and develop strong, trusting and abiding relationships with Māori *whānau* if I was to help to effect positive

change. I reflected on what our education system would have looked like after 140 years if tino rangatiratanga/*self-determination* had been an accepted cornerstone at its inception.

It was this significant Mindshift that led me to explore the literature relating to traditional and contemporary Māori pedagogies (Hemara, 2000) and their application to educational *hautūtanga/leadership*. When discussing with Dianne her sense of frustration at Levi being summarily dismissed by his teacher as “*a shadow of himself*,” I thought about the impact adopting collaborative, consultative and cooperative approaches might have on our professional interactions and relationships we built with Māori students and their whānau. I began to nurture *hautūtanga/leadership* strategies that focussed on deliberate diversity (Banks, 2008) and consensus and not census (Santamaría, A. P., Webber, & Santamaría, L. J., 2015). This was a pivotal point in my journey as I learnt that to stand back (which was a completely foreign concept for me as a leader) was not to abdicate responsibility, it was instead to acknowledge tino rangatiratanga/*self-determination* and empower Māori as decision makers and legitimate leaders. *Hautūtanga/leadership* and decision making led by Māori, for Māori (Smith, G. H., 2012) was a clear way forward and offered a tangible and positive change that potentially could address the disparities in educational achievement identified in Chapter 1. Just as I had bristled when expected to defer to the espoused opinions and theories of ‘learned’ men, who felt entitled to comment of the needs of women, I bristled for Dianne when I read, “*Confiscate the play-station, it is destroying his character and his chances of success in Calculus.*” I was shaken by the implied authority of this statement because it was made by “*one of our best and most talented teachers.*”

SECTION 4 The Unrelenting Fight for Justice

Dianne’s narrative illustrates the expectations all Māori whānau have of our state funded education system; that it will identify the educational needs of their children and address the aspirations and expectations whānau have for them, while at the same time ensuring their tamariki/*children* are self-determining in all aspects of their lives. When Dianne responded to the mathematics teacher saying, “*In my view a teacher's job is not to complain about the children and what their lives are like at home, but to continue trying to unlock their potential, and if that means doing something differently in order to achieve that, then that is what should happen,*” she illustrated for me the ineradicable prejudices the current education system perpetuates for Māori and the unrelenting fight whānau/*families* have for justice. Self-determination theory (Cornell, 2006; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Durie, M. H., 1998; McCarty, 2002)

suggests that the denial of tino rangatiratanga/*self-determination* by those who have power over others can only ever result in the creation of sites of struggle for the powerless and undermine their basic human rights and needs. Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, Y., and Kaplan (2003) add weight to this argument when they assert:

People from all cultures share basic psychological needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness ... [and] ... when these three needs are supported by social contexts and are able to be fulfilled by individuals, well-being is enhanced. Conversely, when cultural, contextual, or intrapsychic forces block or frustrate the fulfilment of these basic needs, well-being is diminished. (p.97).

It was Dianne's comment that *the job of the teacher is to unlock the potential of the child* that led me to reflect on those outcomes as I had uncovered them. Rather than unlocking the potential of the participants I felt in some instances Papatūānuku High School had exacerbated their failure, demonstrated by the issues of their loss of identity, their alienation from school and ātetenga/*resistance* to the hegemonic structures that repeatedly rendered them invisible. I found it an intellectually crippling dichotomy that on the one hand the AotearoaNew Zealand education system appeared to disregard the importance to Māori of their te ao Māori/*Māori world view*, yet by virtue of my ethnicity it had supported my Pākehā world view and nurtured my needs and aspirations since I was four years old.

As Shaul (2018) explains in the preface to Freire's seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*:

There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes "the practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (p.34).

Even though Dianne wrote in her email to me, “*While you have only known my son for a year and a half, you have shown interest in him as a person,*” I felt no sense of relief. I accepted on this occasion I had taken a personal interest in her son but wondered how many times my cultural conditioning had resulted in my lack of attention, intervention or empathy for other Māori students in my care.

SECTION 5 Summary

Just as feminists do not want men to assume that they can solve the problems of patriarchal oppression of women, Māori do not want Pākehā to assume that they hold the key to solutions for the systemic, social, political and colonial oppression they experience in the living of their daily lives. Chapter 8 was my final way station as I chronicled my journey through an unfamiliar landscape that was divergent, distant and at times completely detached from the landscape of my lived reality. At times my journey was miraculous at others debilitating, but always it was compelling. The map I crafted, as with all maps, was a subjective representation of my observations and experiences as I journeyed with participants through the previously uncharted terrain of my professional *hautūtanga/leadership* practice. Le Guin (1989) famously once wrote:

We are volcanoes. When we women offer our experience as our truth, as human truth, all the maps change. There are new mountains. (p.4).

My new learning was a mountain I had to climb, my new truth was a human truth that I was totally unprepared for. My long-held assumptions around equal opportunity and equity for all students in the AotearoaNew Zealand were dispelled as I wove together the challenges and hurdles participants faced in their day-to-day interactions at school. I grew to understand that those challenges sprang from the denial by Pākehā of *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination* for Māori. I now understood that Pākehā privilege, institutional racism and unconscious bias made manifest exclusionary practices directed at Māori that had hitherto been invisible to me as an educational leader. That fundamental deprivation underpinned all other privation I had observed in the participants’ accounts and anecdotes of their experiences.

In this penultimate chapter I chose to share my new learning, not as sage advice or measured instruction, but instead as an example of the rigour required in the interrogation of self, the honest sharing of the challenges, frustrations and personal growth I experienced and the conscientisation of self I experienced as a practice-based researcher, a principal and an individual who sought new ways of leading that embraced bicultural approaches for the benefit of all stakeholders in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system. Chapter 9. In determining my success as a research nomad, I will not, as some researchers might, speak for Māori, as I cannot. What I can do is speak for myself, and to that effect, make comment about what it is I have discovered during this odyssey about myself in relation to *hautūtanga/leadership* and my contribution to bicultural *hautūtanga/leadership* practices that have been identified as having a positive impact on Māori students and their achievement at high school. In contemplating the implications of my work for me and for other Pākehā educational leaders. Perhaps in the final analysis it doesn't really matter what I think because as Alfred & Cornthassel (2005) make clear is what Pākehā do is inconsequential to Māori because:

As Indigenous peoples, the way to recovering freedom and power and happiness is clear: it is time for each one of us to make the commitment to transcend colonialism as people, and for us to work together as peoples to become forces of Indigenous truth against the lie of colonialism. We do not need to wait for the colonizer to provide us with money or to validate our vision of a free future; we only need to start to use our Indigenous languages to frame our thoughts, the ethical framework of our philosophies to make decisions and to use our laws and institutions to govern ourselves. (p. 614).

Pākehā are faced with a new reality that insists that *tino rangatiratanga/self-determination* is no longer contestable in AotearoaNew Zealand but is instead an unalienable right for Māori. It is that supposition that sets us on the pathway to our final destination in this particular research journey. So onward to the Chapter 9 and the beginning of the end or perhaps what may very well turn out to be a new *wero/challenge* and a new beginning.

Ki te kotahi te kakaho, ka whati, ki te kapuia, e kore e whati
Alone we can be broken. Standing together, we are invincible

SECTION 1 Walking the Talk

As I sat quietly at our table looking around at the assembled students and their whānau I felt a real sense of pride. We were one of only eleven schools from around the Canterbury Region with a finalist in Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology's (CPIT) annual Rakatahi Awards. The awards recognise students who have excelled in Kanohi Kai Mātārae/Hautūtanga, He Rau Tītapu/Excellence in Te Reo Māori, He Rei Puta/Excellence in Sports, Te Iti Kahuraki/Academic Excellence and He Uruka Mau Tonu/Commitment to Māori values and Tikanga. When we had been notified that Hemi had been chosen for an award for He Uruka Mau Tonu/Commitment to Māori values and Tikanga we had all been so excited. I travelled with Hemi's whānau to the awards ceremony and felt very much included in the aroha that filled the van as we drove into Christchurch.

I had been disappointed when Kaharoa had told me at the beginning of the week that he was unable to attend the awards ceremony because he was always such good company and often helped me with the translation of te reo Māori during whaikōrero. My disappointment turned to horror when I slowly discovered that on this occasion, I would have to speak because Kaharoa was not here! As the proceedings got underway, I observed that after the criteria for the first three awards had been announced each of the three recipients had then been introduced to the hui by their school principal before they accompanied their student up onto the stage to accept their award. The principals' support of and pride in their students was reflected in the warmth expressed in their mihi, all of which were delivered in fluent te reo Māori. These men's mana was obvious, and their encouraging words met with respectful applause and smiles of agreement. I felt a twinge of anxiety when the fourth recipient who was receiving the He Rau Tītapu/Excellence in Te Reo Māori was announced and again the student was introduced by his proud principal, again in fluent te reo Māori. My stomach was starting to churn by the time the fifth recipient's name was announced for the He Rei Puta/Excellence in Sports award because sure enough her principal stood and introduced her in Māori. I casually glanced down at the programme and saw that we were only three recipients away from Hemi's award presentation.

Looking across the table I made eye contact with Hemi's mother Rahera. "Do you want to speak?" I mouthed. She gave me a look that suggested I was completely pōrangi. I took that as a no. I inclined my head to Hemi's tāua and raised my eyebrow. She and Rahera just laughed quietly and whispered, "Kao Whaea, you're all good."

With no Kaharoa, and no volunteer from our uepū to speak on behalf of Hemi my anxiety escalated to nervous apprehension. I had two choices; to sit quietly and allow Hemi to walk up onto the stage alone and unsupported or stand and mihi the hui. I knew in my heart I could not let Hemi stand alone, that was not the Māori way. As my stomach churned and my skin prickled with apprehension, I began wracking my brain for everything I could dredge up in te reo Māori. I began reciting my prizegiving mihi in my head. With a push I knew I could adapt the content so at least I could stand with Hemi. I watched the next two recipients walk proudly onto the stage, fully supported by whānau, kura and kaiako. My legs were turning to jelly and my throat was like sandpaper. As I listened in trepidation to the announcement of the criteria used for selecting the winner of the He Uruka Mau Tonu/Commitment to Māori values and Tikanga award, I was overwhelmed with the desire to slide silently under the table.

Looking across the table at Hemi's mother I caught my breath. She was gazing at her son as she listened to the Head of ARA confirm all the things Hemi had achieved. Which had resulted resulting in the winning of this ward. She wore her hair pulled tight into a bun and fixed at the centre was a beautiful traditional heru tuki. It wasn't the intricate carving of the bone that captured my attention in that moment however but the fact that her large brown eyes were filled with tears that brimmed over her dark eyelashes and cascaded down her cheeks. If pride in a child could be measured in love, then love filled the room, infused every molecule, particle and atom, of that space. In that moment I rose to my feet strengthened by that unintentional sharing of intimacy, that moment of unconditional aroha personified.

It was an out of body experience, that slowing of time where I watched myself without quite believing it was me. I smiled at Hemi, took a deep breath and words began to flow ...

*Tuatahi ki te Atua,^{viii}
E ngā iwi,
E ngā reo,
E ngā huihuinga tāngata,
Tēnā Koutou,*

Te manu ka kai i te miro, noona te ngahere.
Te manu ka kai i te matauranga, noona te ao.
E mihi ana ki te whānau o te whare wānanga Ara Aotearoa,
Tēnā Koutou
Tēnā Koutou
Kia ora koutou ngā rangatahi ma
He tau tino whakahirahira tēnei
Kua tū-tukitia e tatou te taumata teitei
Whākaia mai māku i wahi atu ki a koutou
Ngā mihi nui, Ngā mihi nui,
No rei ra,
Tēnā Koutou, Tēnā Koutou,
Kia Ora Koutou Katoa.

It was a surreal experience, I had searched for four years to find the answer to the question, what could I do to improve the educational outcomes of Māori student, and suddenly I knew in that moment when Hemi held his head high and walked with me to the stage to receive his award that it came down to mātātōa, aroha and whakawhanaunga. I understood the importance to Māori of being recognised for who they were and not be someone's perception of what they were. My new learning empowered me as a tumuaki to ensure I identified Māori as individuals who are part of a supportive whānau, located in an organised network of hapū, backed by a strong and supportive iwi structure. I recognised the need to consistently, confidently and publicly articulate the reality that far from being mere statistics on a page and only recognised for their lack of potential and their inherent problems Māori were equal partners in a historically unequal partnership. That this injustice needed to be recognised by our Government through social, economic and environmental policy and addressed by those who covet political power and subvert bicultural aspirations immediately. I learnt that if true change is to occur in AotearoaNew Zealand it would only ever succeed when Pākehā worked together and alongside Māori to create and celebrate their future together.

I realised, as my hands ached from the clapping, that I had come a long way in this research journey and learnt a lot as I meandered through the bicultural landscape, I had not known existed in AotearoaNew Zealand. I know if I had had to make the decision whether to mihi on this occasion in 2009 I would not have been able to stand and speak. I would have been consumed by Pākehā paralysis and chosen avoidance. Unaware of my bicultural ineptitude I

would have deepened the chasm that exists in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system between te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

SECTION 2 From Purpose to Findings and Beyond

Introduction

The first section of Chapter 9 is a personal memoir recalling my first public mihi in te reo Māori and describing my visceral reaction to having to ‘walk the talk’ of bicultural hautūtanga. I discussed the concept of Pākehā paralysis (Hotere-Barnes, 2015; Tolich, 2002) in Chapter 7, Te Ao Maori, and the difficulty some Pākehā have in participating in a bicultural setting. Pākehā paralysis often results in a choice not to engage in bicultural settings rather than risk public mistakes and the resulting embarrassment they cause. My experience at the (CPIT) annual Rakatahi Awards was my first real wero to address the purpose of this study which was to; explore conceptions of kaupapa Māori hautūtanga, adopt the principles of Māori hautūtanga by embracing the sources of Māori hautūtanga influence and recognising hautūtanga purposes that are important to Māori (Hohepa and Robson, 2008).

When I found myself in that public forum and realised the kawa required I felt an obligation to simply step up in my professional capacity and just do what was required. The memoir recalls my ambivalence when I realised, I was the only member of staff present and would need to awhi Hemi who was the recipient of the prestigious He Uruka Mau Tonu Award. The memoir functions as a lens with which to view my new learning and the three most significant shifts I made in my understanding of my hautūtanga: the role requires a reasonable fluency in te reo Māori because of the bicultural nature of AotearoaNew Zealand; my appreciation of the unique position AotearoaNew Zealand’s indigenous population hold in our society as equal partners in te tiriti o Waitangi; and the need for a redefinition of what we describe as effective hautūtanga in bicultural AotearoaNew Zealand. Even though I was terrified, rather than thinking I wasn’t good enough, I simply stood and used te reo Māori I knew and didn’t focus on what I didn’t know.

In that vein I have not provided any English to Māori translations in this chapter with the exception of whakataukī and mihi. I do however provide here an electronic resource should one be required: <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/>. This is a deliberate strategy and one that addresses one of my main findings to the question “What do hautūtanga pedagogies that are culturally appropriate and resonate with Māori students look like?” The short answer to that question is speak te reo Māori as often as you can irrespective of your anxiety over your fluency

level. In taking this stand I accept that there will be deficiencies in my use of te reo Maori within this thesis and that fluent and Native speakers of te reo Māori may take issue with that deficit. The more detailed answer to that question is addressed in Section 3 where I discuss my findings in relation to my own journey and new learning as a research nomad, as a kaiako and as a Pākehā, the unerring tripartite self. I position myself in this chapter as an educational kaiārahi who made a personal decision to learn and speak te reo Māori as a way to support Māori students and their whānau. I argue here that had I worried about being word perfect in te reo Māori for the purposes of ‘passing the test this thesis represents,’ then I would have chosen not to use te reo at all in the text for fear of failure. Such a choice would be a significant irony given my motivation to find new ways of arahanga as a kura tuarua kaiako who considers kaupapa Māori principles and bicultural approaches that are unique to AotearoaNew Zealand.

Section 3 Findings

Wicked Problems

I have always enjoyed the hautūtanga roles I have been appointed to throughout my career in education. My principal hautūtanga role at Papatūānuku High School in Te Wāi Pounamu was the most rewarding yet challenging of my career. It was my discovery in 2009 that Māori student achievement levels in the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) at Papatūānuku High School were consistently below those of Pākehā students that prompted me to examine my hautūtanga practices and determine if I had in anyway contributed to those disparities. As mentioned above I came to the research as three distinct people; Peggy Burrows caring person, Peggy Burrows kaiako of Papatūānuku High School and Peggy Burrows research nomad. Each of my different persona sought and found answers to the same wicked problem but from different perspectives.

As a researcher this section provides me with an opportunity to add my voice to the international discourse surrounding a pragmatic and collaborative approach to solving wicked problems (Bourke & Loveridge, 2017; Rittel & Webber, 1973). In this instance the wicked problem I solved for me personally, as a researcher and as the kaiako of Papatūānuku High School was:

What do hautūtanga pedagogies that are culturally appropriate and resonate with Māori students look like and if adopted by Pākehā leaders would there be a corresponding improvement in Māori educational achievement and enjoyment of school?

As the subject of the study I refused to define Māori student achievement as a problem to be solved. Instead, by interrogating the data that I had collected, I identified three significant contributors to Māori dissatisfaction with their treatment at Papatūānuku High School and at one of our sister schools in te Ika-a-Māui; the first, my own predisposition for Westerncentric hautūtanga pedagogies that excluded te ao Māori, the second, the hautūtanga pedagogies employed by some members of staff at Papatūānuku High School that had alienated some Māori students and the third, some hautūtanga pedagogies employed by members of our sister school's board of trustees that had alienated their local Rūnanga Education Committee.

Unknown Territory, High-risk Expeditions and New Discoveries,

I was initially quite anxious as a qualitative researcher undertaking an autoethnographic narrative study. After discussions with my supervisors and my initial reading of an array of literature that explored research methodology (Bishop, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 1999; Macfarlane A. H., et al., 2007; Walker, S. et al., 2006) I was aware that autoethnography carried with it, certain risks given it is considered a relatively new field of qualitative research. I argue here that being new does not equate to being inferior and in fact as an authoethnographer using practice-based insider research I was able to make new discoveries I might have missed as an outsider. Suddaby (2006) points out, “new discoveries are always the result of high-risk expeditions into unknown territory” (p. 633) so as a research nomad I felt the risk was justified. I was also aware that my journey into this unknown territory as a research nomad required me to pay careful attention to what Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe as “the contrast between ‘the daily realities’ (what is actually going on) of substantive areas” and the interpretations of those daily realities made by those who participate in them (the “actors”) (p. 239). My research design considered this contrast; and while innovative in approach, in that it required my total immersion in the research process (Maggs-Rapport, 2001), it included comprehensive models for the analysis of data designed to be context sensitive. I focussed on extrapolating patterns for possible transferability and adaptation in new settings, always keeping in mind Polit and Beck's (2010) point that:

The usual question of whether the results of a study can be generalized to other people or settings should perhaps be replaced with a question of relativity: “How much can we generalize the results of the study?” (p. 1457).

Another possible risk that required deep consideration was my non-indigenous status within the landscape of kaupapa Māori research. As a research nomad I was a mere traveller passing through an unknown landscape, collecting the personal artefacts of others as I wandered. I took on board Berryman, Glynn, and Woller's (2017) warning that:

Respectful visitors do not set about rearranging the furniture and imposing their own cultural protocols and discourse frames in someone else's cultural space. Yet, this is what can happen when institutionally authenticated methodologies and interpretations of findings are imposed uncritically on indigenous researchers and their communities (p.1356).

Appreciating that caution, I mitigated that risk by explaining to each participant, all of whom were Māori, that I was researching myself and not them (Goldblatt, Karnieli-Miller & Neumann, 2011). That it was my professional practice as a High School principal I was interested in examining because I wanted to be a better principal. I clarified my need for their help to achieve that goal and discussed my intended approach to ensure they were comfortable to participate within the proposed framework. I reiterated that my collection of data about them and their experiences at Papatūānuku High School was, so I could examine and make judgements about my behaviour and not so that I could make judgements about them in any way.

Personal and Political Perspective of Culturally Appropriate Hautūtanga Pedagogies

My research findings are therefore not a definitive list of the do's and don'ts in Kaiako hautūtanga. Nor are they a matrix for professional practice that I advocate best meets the needs of Māori students at High School. Instead the findings seek to raise consciousness, challenge engrained perceptions and highlight hautūtanga strategies that consider kaupapa Māori principles and resonate positively with Māori; and could therefore have a significant impact on Māori students attending High School in Aotearoa New Zealand. My methodology was therefore deliberately organic in design to allow the data to emerge from an array of sources and to speak for itself. As I explored the issues raised by participants and extrapolated patterns from that data, I was able to categorise those issues into five major themes that resonated with me:

Ahurea Tuakiri

Mōriroriro

Ātetenga
Mātauranga Māori
Tino Rangatiratanga

These five themes provided me with deep insights into often painful and debilitating issues that confronted many of the Māori students at Papatūānuku High School. I used those themes to tease out my own interpretations and understandings of the experiences they shared with me and through my own reflexive practice formulate answers to the questions that confounded me because I had never had to considered them before.

The Nexus for Interconnectivity of Themes

I developed a model (See Figure 14) to guide my thinking around how the five themes were interconnected, each illustrating a specific indigenous frustration that was identified within the data: the fight for the preservation of ahurea tuakiri, the pathos of mōriroriro, the implications for the AotearoaNew Zealand education system of Māori student ātetenga, the importance to true bicultural partnership of respect for mātauranga Māori and the ethics of tino rangatiratanga in a bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand.

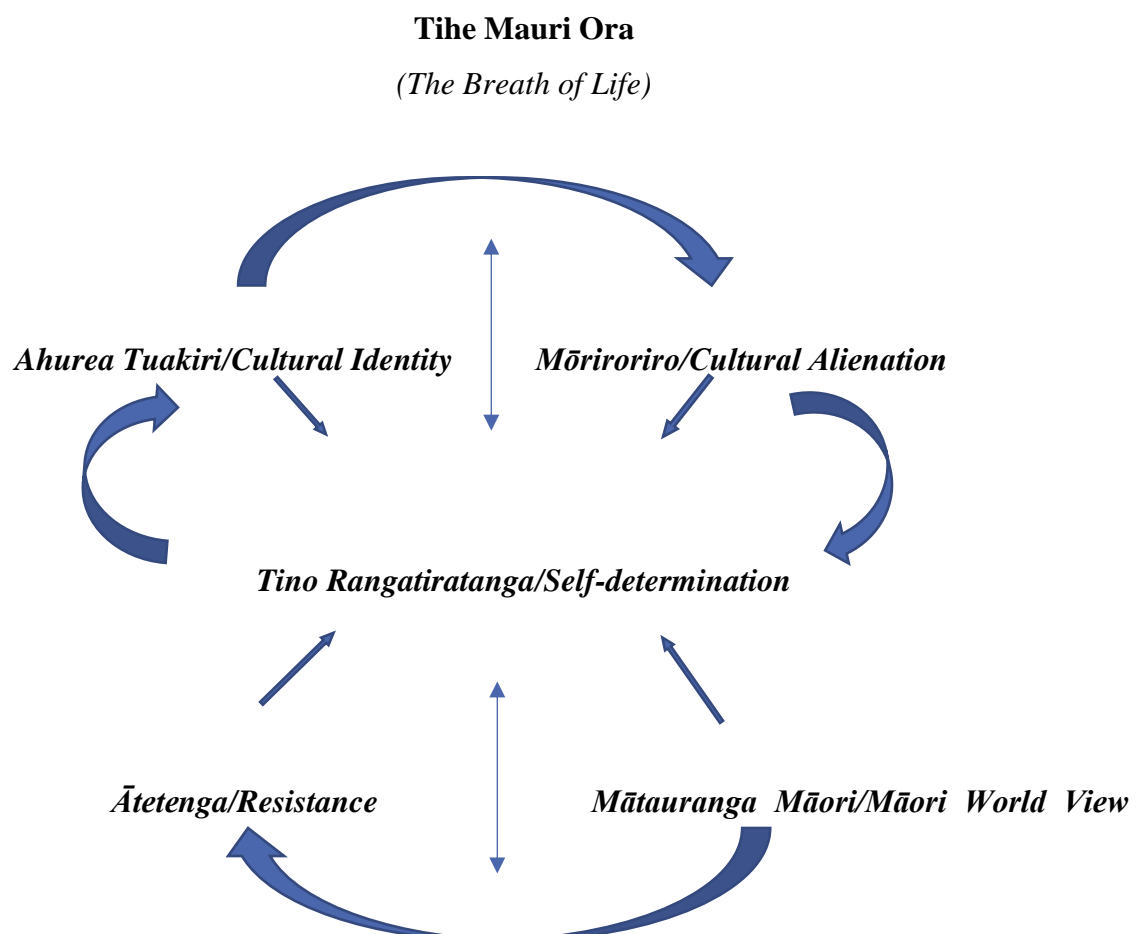


Figure 14. Model of Interconnectivity Theory

I posit here that tino rangatiratanga is the nexus or the conduit that connects the themes and provides a touch-stone or in the case of this research nomad a mile-stone for understanding the moral imperative that no nation or people have the right to deny another nation or people cultural, economic, political, managerial, and organisational autonomy. As M. J. Maaka (2004) argues, when:

The fundamental markers of our identities—sovereignty, ancestral lands, language, and cultural knowledge [...] were stripped away, so too was our well-being. An essential determinant of the social and economic well-being of any group is its connectedness. When a group is connected, it flourishes. Conversely, when the shared meanings, values, and beliefs that identify group membership are broken down, so too does the group break down (p. 3)

The denial of the freedom to make up one's own mind as Māori about Māori sovereignty, ancestral lands, language, economic independence and cultural knowledge due to the outside influence or compulsion of Pākehā sits behind this thesis' major finding. There is a growing call for change by Māori, and a significant group of Pākehā from all walks of life, to the existing hegemonic construct that continues to disadvantage Māori and perpetuates the disparities discussed in this thesis.

There data clearly demonstrate that within the context of Papatūānuku High School the denial of tino rangatiratanga resulted in a significant disconnect for some Māori students from some of their Pākehā teachers and Pākehā peers. This finding reinforces the argument that an inability to build strong and abiding relationships impacts negatively on Māori and contributes to their lack of success and achievement at school (Berryman, Egan, & Ford, 2017). My analysis of the data also highlighted what I perceived to be a distortion of the lived reality of participants with the perception of that reality held by some of their Pākehā teachers or Pākehā peers. I found that some Pākehā working within the AotearoaNew Zealand education system displayed a false sense of entitlement and authority and when working with Māori in varied contexts confused their acquiescence to coercion as agreement or consent. That inherent Pākehā bias was observed to be both conscious and unconscious.

Conscious and Unconscious Bias

Recognising that conscious and unconscious bias impacted negatively on Māori students I worked to develop new ways of thinking that explored my unconscious bias (Peterson, Rubie-Davies, Osborne, & Sibley, 2016). Proponents of the concept of unconscious bias (Blank, A., Houkamau & Kingi, 2016) challenge communities to reframe the discourse and develop new ways of talking about difference that do not include judgemental assertions of deviance or deficiencies (Kinloch & Metge, 2014). In the forward to *Unconscious bias and education. A comparative study of Māori and African American students*, A. Blank et.al (2016), write:

Rather than understanding other cultures, the starting point for change then is understanding our own biases and mitigating their impact on our decision making and interactions with others. (p. 3).

I found it a bitterly humbling experience, when employing reflexive practice (Schön, 2017), to isolate and identify examples of my own complicity in perpetuating practices that supported institutional racism, discrimination, prejudice and intolerance. For participants, it mattered little if the deficit-thinking and inherent biases they encountered was intentional or not because the outcomes for them was the same.

Section 4 Beyond and Back Again

Autobiographical Reflections of Peggy Burrows Research Nomad

I knew that I could not change the world just because I had had a sudden epiphany about the unacceptable disparities that existed for Māori achievement and as a result felt change to my professional *hautūtanga* practice was imperative. While I was concerned about the pedogeological practice of some teachers at Papatūānuku High School, having heard participants describe their experiences to me in their anecdotes, I came to accept that the first and most difficult change always came when looking back at yourself. In the grand scheme of things, the only three things I could realistically change in my sphere of influence were: my own professional *hautūtanga* practice, my personal behaviour as a role model and my Westerncentric understandings, assumptions and perspectives about Māori learners and Māori student achievement in general.

In recognising and affirming the value of the recognition of the importance of *te ao* Māori in the education of Māori students I also recognised the value of educational leaders

adopting bicultural approaches to their hautūtanga practices. Hohepa (2013) strengthened my resolve that it was I who had to change, when she affirmed that:

Indigenous educational hautūtanga as “different” may be better understood in terms of the enactment of hautūtanga, which is located in and guided by Indigenous knowledge, values, and practices, in order to realize Indigenous educational aspirations. (p. 619).

I wrote in the introduction of this thesis that I wanted to test my initial theory that the absence of bicultural hautūtanga practices in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system impacted negatively on Māori Students and their educational success as Māori in a high school setting. My reading of the leadership literature that underpins this study confirmed what I discovered in the data, that the starting point for improved hautūtanga practices was a leader’s examination of their own professional practice. I suspected my principal hautūtanga was wanting at the commencement of this study and as I engaged more closely with the data, I began to deliberately adopt kaupapa Māori hautūtanga principles (Ford, 2012; Santamaría et al., 2015) to strengthen my professional practice. I personalised my relationships with Māori students and their whānau, by ensuring contact was face-to-face. When I was able to, I spoke te reo Māori to the best of my ability. One of the most significant changes I made was to publicly articulate the necessity for culturally safe strategies for building lasting relationships. I progressed the introduction of culturally safe learning spaces by liaising with te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga Education Committee, particularly when the new innovative learning environment, funded by the Ministry of Education in 2014, was being constructed. As well I foreshadowed the introduction of a full staff professional learning programme (Darling-Hammond & Sykes, 1999) to assist with the building of cultural awareness.

These initiatives were all in response to the challenges I discovered that Māori students faced daily at Papatūānuku High School by virtue of their ethnicity. These challenges were in the main invisible to the mainstream or often interpreted by staff as resistance behaviour. The data discredited the universally held myth that AotearoaNew Zealand was an egalitarian society, both inclusive and bicultural and showed me an alternative reality. What was edifying was the fact that every anecdote shared with me during the data gathering phase also challenged that that flawed assumption. I also found that inequity for Māori students (Webber, McKinley, & Rubie-Davies, 2016) was not isolated to Papatūānuku High School but to a substantial

number of state funded schools within the network of schools in the AotearoaNew Zealand education system. My study began with the exploration of identity and the importance of names in te ao Māori (Kainamu, 2013). This finding supports Bishop et al. (2003) who assert:

Students also identified the importance to them of having their names correctly pronounced, or teachers at least attempting to do so. Students considered that when teachers did this, it meant that they were trying to foster a positive relationship with each student. When this was not seen to be happening, the students would often respond with what was seen as inappropriate behaviour and were punished (p. 50).

I found that I agreed with the assertion that in the 21st century Pākehā had not yet earned the privilege of trust. When things as fundamental as the pronunciation of a Māori student's name is seen as problematic in our education system. I also found that when I reflected on the rhetoric of equality in the Aotearoa New Zealand education system it was nothing more than a carefully constructed dialogue which served to preserve the status quo. My data around Mōriroriro discredited the claim that Māori enjoyed equal access, equal opportunity and equally clear educational pathways in education as Pākehā. Instead I found that unless Māori students were prepared to exhibit attributes and behaviours that mirrored Pākehā norms when they were at school, they were often placed on a behaviour spectrum that described them as strange, nonconformist, noncompliant, disruptive, defiant, deviant and finally dangerous. I found that these subjective descriptors are prevalent in schools where many Pākehā educators, who view all Māori student behaviour through a culturally biased lens, ultimately discriminate against Māori students causing them to suffer dire consequences, including stand-down, suspensions, exclusions and expulsion, for behaviours defined as unacceptable.

Final Thoughts

As a result of this long and winding journey I found that Papatūānuku High School was no different to any other state secondary school in AotearoaNew Zealand education system. Although the school's Charter promised a commitment to equal access for all to quality education, our systems, structures and ways of operating were clearly underpinned by hegemonic (Dussel, 2000) assumptions around appropriate school culture. These assumptions are an anathema to Māori and perpetuated inequity for the school's Māori students. A Pākehā world view will always grant unfettered access to Pākehā students to the school's resources

needed for educational success. Until alternative world views, particularly te ao Māori are an accepted lens through which to view student achievement in AotearoaNew Zealand's education system there can be no promise of improvement for the educational outcomes of Māori students. As I stand looking forward to the future, I realise that these findings barely scratch the surface of the challenges educational leaders face in ensuring a new and innovative way forward is found so that the educational outcomes of Māori students mirror those of their Pākehā peers.

The challenge now for this research nomad is to rest but not to retire.

*Naa te mapu au ka whakakupu I te koorero, I whea,
i ngaa waa o mua ra,
ka rangitaamiro mai ngaa ara e rua,
ka whai au te ara naa te takitahi.
Ko te hua pai ko te hua ora ki a au,
I te huarahi kee I whaia e au.*

*I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
I took the one less travelled by,
And that has made all the difference.*

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.



Peggy Burrows
Rangiora High School
East Belt
RANGIORA 7400

Telephone: 64 3 3118888
Email: peggyb@xtra.co.nz

Date: 17 November 2015

Mana Whakatipu, Mana Tangata: Leadership Challenges in 21st Century Aotearoa

Letter of Invitation to Rangatahi at Rangiora High School

Tibē mauriora
Ki te whaiao, ki Te Ao Mārama

Tēnā Koe Rongo-a-whare

I am currently undertaking a PhD research study at the University of Canterbury. My study is looking at bicultural leadership in our school. I am interested in finding out what you think about leadership and what kinds of experiences you had as a student at Rangiora High School.

This is a self-study looking at ways I can improve as a principal by developing a more bicultural leadership approach. I would like to invite you to participate in this kaupapa and help me to understand how school worked for you. This is an opportunity for you to tell me anything you think is relevant about your education.

I would like to write a narrative [pakiwaitara] that has you as the main character which will be based on an event that happened at school. To protect your privacy no one will read the narrative unless you give me permission to share it. Because you might be whakamā about me being the Principal and this might create a barriers I think we should identify a person you trust to act as a *Mentor/Confident/W'bakarurubau / Kaiārahi*. You can go to this person if you are worried and feel that you cannot share the problem with me personally. Anything you tell the *Mentor/Confident/W'bakarurubau / Kaiārahi* will be confidential.

I will make sure that any and all information that is collected during the study that has anything to do with you is stored securely in a locked office and that the only people who see it are my two supervisors. You do get to see your information but you don't get to see anyone else's unless they share it with you. When the study is over the University of Canterbury ask that I keep the information securely for six years and then destroy it.

It is important that you know you are a volunteer and that you have the right to stop at any stage with no penalty. If you do stop I will do my best to remove your information if I can. It is my job to make sure you feel safe at all times. When we finish gathering information I have to write a thesis which will be published. You are very welcome to read what I write in my draft and make comments about it. I can also give you a copy of the finished thesis if you wanted one.

There are some people you can contact if you have any questions at any stage about the study, they are my supervisors:

Professor Letitia Fickel

Senior Supervisor
letitia.fickel@canterbury.ac.nz

Chris Jansen
Second Supervisor
chris.jansen@canterbury.ac.nz

If you were ever worried or upset and wanted someone to talk to about my work, or if you wanted to make a formal complaint you could contact the following person:

The Chair
Educational Research Human Ethics Committee
University of Canterbury
human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

If you agree to participate in this research study please complete the attached consent form and return it to me in the envelope provided at the above address within a week of the date of this letter.

Ka kite ano/kind regards

Peggy Burrows JP, MA (Hons)
Principal
Rangiora High School
New Zealand
Email: peggyb@xtra.co.nz
www.rangiorahigh.school.nz

PhD Candidate
University of Canterbury

Appendix 2.



Peggy Burrows
Principal
Rangiora High School
East Belt
RANGIORA 7400

Telephone: 64 3 3118888
Email: peggyb@xtra.co.nz

Date: 10 February 2013

Fostering Biculturalism: Exploring Leadership in a South Island Secondary School

Mana Whakatipu, Mana Tangata

Information Sheet

I am currently undertaking a PhD research study at the University of Canterbury exploring the development of strategies that will foster bicultural leadership that considers the culture of Māori learners and builds relationships that result in achievement success for them.

My study involves practice-based research and is a self-study employing an auto-ethnographic methodology. In my role as principal I want to explore ways in which I can change and modify my leadership practice to encompass bicultural leadership approaches.

As a participant in my study we will work collaboratively in accordance with kaupapa Māori research principles (mana rangatiratanga). Your specific contribution will be the stories you tell me about your experiences at school. You will tell me your story and I will record it. I will then write a narrative with you as the main character. I will share this story with you and together we will work on the final version. All reasonable steps will be taken to ensure that your privacy is protected. You may also pull out of the study at any time.

As I am your Principal and this could create barriers and cause *mōniana*/apprehension for some people. I will ensure you are supported by a *mentor/confident* /*whakaruruhau* /*kaiārabi* that you could go to if you wanted an opportunity to talk things through, but not with me. You can either choose someone you feel safe with or talk with Whaea Mo who has agreed to participate in that role. Your *Mentor/Confident/Whakaruruhau* /*Kaiārabi* as totally independent and you are safe to discuss issues, raise concerns or fears, offer insights you feel you cannot share with me personally. Any matters raised will be relayed to me by the *Mentor/Confident/Whakaruruhau* /*Kaiārabi* without identifying you specifically so that I might address the issues raised in a safe manner.

All data collected and reviewed will be restricted to my supervisors and me so you will remain anonymous unless you choose to have your name included.

Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. If you choose to withdraw I will do my best to remove any information relating to you, provided this is practically achievable. I agree to exclude any of your data that you feel does not fairly represent your views or opinions. Your story will be called data and all data collected during the study will be stored securely and locked in my office. In line with university protocols all data must be stored for six years following completion of the project. After that time it will be securely destroyed.

Appendix 2.

Your story and the narratives I write as a result of our collaboration will be used in the writing of my PhD thesis and will be published upon completion. As a participant you will be offered an opportunity to read and comment on the thesis draft and will be provided with your own copy of the final copy should you wish to receive one.

If you have any questions at any stage regarding the study or your involvement in it you may contact my supervisors:

Professor Letitia Fickel
Senior Supervisor
letitia.fickel@canterbury.ac.nz

Chris Jansen
Second Supervisor
chris.jansen@canterbury.ac.nz

This study has received ethical approval from the University of Canterbury Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, the Ministry of Education [Christchurch Office] and if for any reason, you did wish to make a formal complaint you could contact the following person:

The Chair
Educational Research Human Ethics Committee
University of Canterbury
human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

If you agree to participate in this study I would invite you to complete the attached consent form and return it to me in the envelope provided at the above address within a week of the date of this letter.

Thank you.

Peggy Burrows

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ⁱ Deciles are a measure of the socio-economic position of a school's student community relative to other schools throughout the country. For example, decile 1 schools are the 10% of schools with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities, whereas decile 10 schools are the 10% of schools with the lowest proportion of these students. A school's decile does not indicate the overall socio-economic mix of the school or reflect the quality of education the school provides. Deciles are used to provide funding to state and state-integrated schools to enable them to overcome the barriers to learning faced by students from lower socio-economic communities. The lower the school's decile, the more funding they receive. <https://www.education.govt.nz/school/running-a-school/resourcing/operational-funding/school-decile-ratings/>

ⁱⁱ The National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) was introduced in 2002 and is the official secondary school qualification in New Zealand. It has three levels – one, two, and three, which correspond to their respective levels on the Aotearoa New Zealand National Qualifications Framework.

ⁱⁱⁱ Every state and state-integrated school/*kura* in Aotearoa New Zealand is governed by a democratically elected board of trustees. The board of trustees is a Crown entity and part of New Zealand's public sector.

^{iv} New Zealand/Aotearoa is an [island nation](#) in the southwestern [Pacific Ocean](#). The country geographically comprises two main landmasses, the [North Island](#), [[Te Ika-a-Māui](#)], and the [South Island](#), [[Te Waipounamu](#)]. New Zealand/Aotearoa is situated 1,500 km east of the Australian continent. Māori are the indigenous people and account for 14% of the total population of 4.7 million people. The official languages are [English](#), [Māori](#) and [New Zealand Sign Language](#), with English predominant.

^{iv} Deciles are a measure of the socio-economic position of a school's student community relative to other schools throughout New Zealand. Decile ratings range from Decile 1 – 10. Decile 1 schools are the 10% of schools with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 10 schools are the 10% of schools with the highest proportion of students from high socio-economic communities. Decile ratings determine the level of government funding to state and state-integrated schools. The lower the school's decile, the more funding they receive.

<https://www.education.govt.nz/school/running-a-school/resourcing/operational-funding/school-decile-ratings/>

^{iv} The term is derived from 'PakePākehā', a mythical human-like being with fair skin and hair. Originally the Pākehā were the early European settlers, however, today 'Pākehā' is used to describe any peoples of non-Māori or non-Polynesian heritage. Pākehā is not an ethnicity but rather a way to differentiate between the tangata whenua and the Europeans.

^v The term Old Boy and Old Girl is used in New Zealand when referring to a former pupil of a particular primary and/or secondary school. An example would be, Jenny Shipley, New Zealand's first woman Prime Minister was an Old Girl of Marlborough Girls' College.

^{vi} KAMAR - School Administration, Mark-book and Reports. Designed for New Zealand Schools, by New Zealand Teachers. <https://www.kamar.nz/>

^{viii} *First and fore most to God*

To the tribe

To the language

To the people present at this meeting

Formal Greetings to you all

The bird that partakes of the miro berry reigns in the forest

The bird that partakes of the power of knowledge has access to the world

Greeting to the ARA family

Greetings to all

Greetings to all

Greetings to you the students

This has been a great year

We have achieved great things

Greeting to you all

Greeting to you all